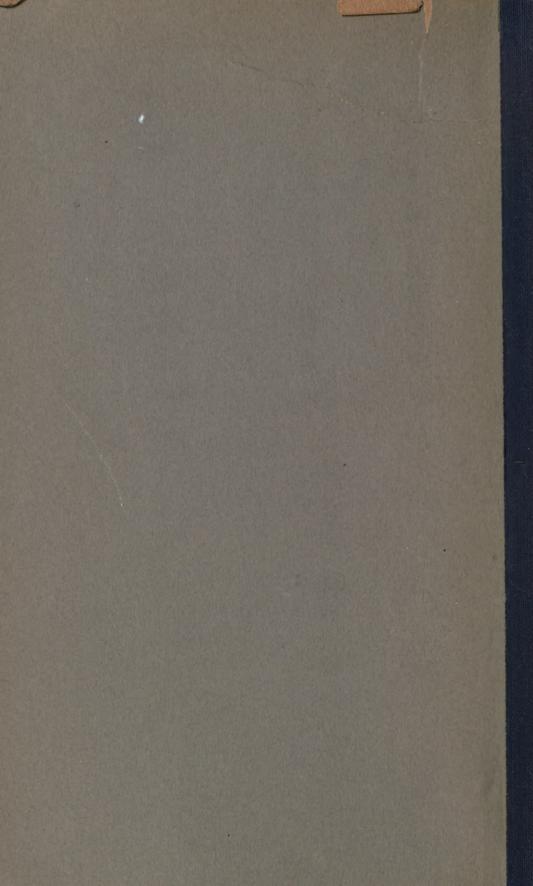
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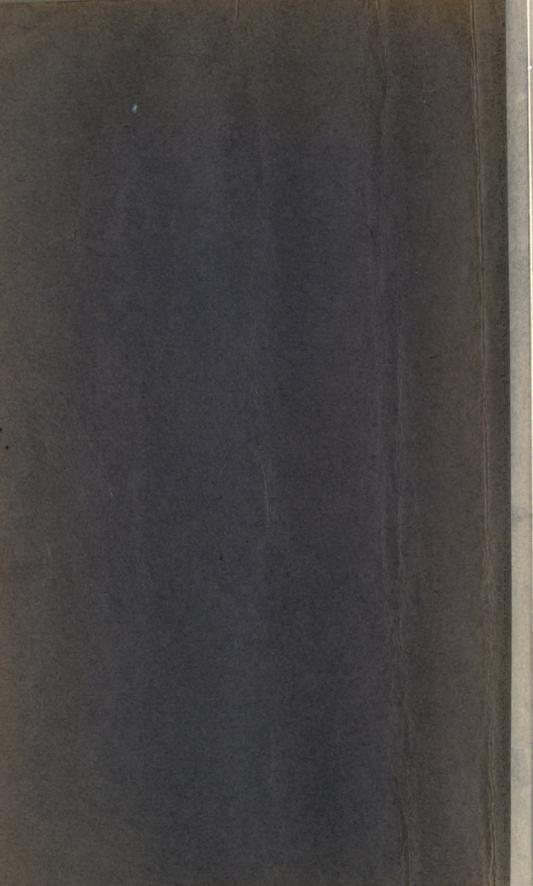
COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION

## ORIGIN OF THE BANTU.

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J. F. VAN OORDT, B.A. (CAPE).

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governo



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COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION.

THE

## ORIGIN OF THE BANTU.

## A PRELIMINARY STUDY

BY

J. F. VAN OORDT, B.A. (CAPE).

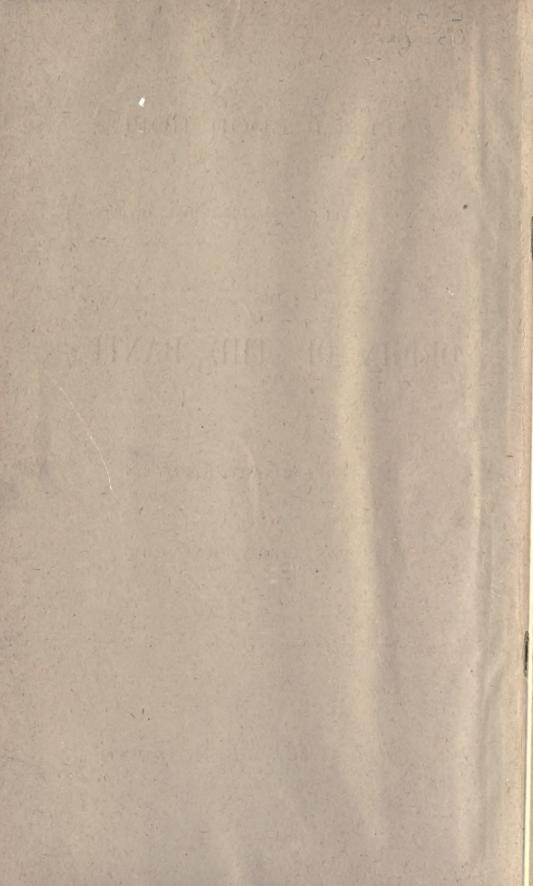
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## PREFACE.

In submitting this Essay on "The Origin of the Bantu," for the purpose of having it printed as a Report to both Houses of Parliament, I have the honour to make the following remarks. This work is the first tangible result of three years' close and unremitted study of the Bantu question. During two of these three years, I enjoyed, through the liberality of the Government and the Parliament of this Colony, a monetary grant, which if it did not supply all my needs, enabled me to carry on my researches and to devote nearly all my time to them. Without this liberality of Government and of Parliament my work would have been impossible, and hence I consider it not only my duty to submit this Essay to Government, but I do so also in a spirit of sincere thankfulness.

It is not for me to say anything about the value of the work contained in the following pages. I gladly leave this in the hands of others, in the consciousness that I have tried to do honest and bona-fide work. No doubt there is much in it which will require correction in the course of time; much will require rounding off. But the material at my disposal was scant. Beyond the valuable library which Sir George Grey left to this Colony, I had little or nothing to consult; indeed, to enable me to become acquainted with the discoveries of the last 30 years, I have been compelled to spend a considerable sum (over £100) in obtaining the latest works from Europe. My income scarcely justified such extravagance, but rather than court disastrous failure, I have gladly made the sacrifice.

This essay purports to be a mere *Preliminary Study* on the Origin of the Bantu. Though I flatter myself that I have found the keys which will unlock most of the safes containing the secrets of Bantu philology, and of the institutions, customs, and religious ideas of that widespread race, yet the great task remains to fit these keys, and as safe after safe is opened, to spread the treasures before the scientific world, as well as before the general public.

I am determined to continue the work once begun, and to perform at least a small portion of the immense task that still requires to be done. I am doing the work from a feeling of love towards the country of my birth, as well as from a desire to serve Science; I am prepared to devote the rest of my life to the solution of a few of the many questions which still remain unanswered.

But in order to do so, I require assistance, and principally such assistance as will put me while thus engaged beyond the sordid wants of life, and will also enable me to procure several books which I urgently require.

For these reasons I hope that the Parliament of this Colony will enable me to prosecute my researches, and to continue a work which is merely begun, and which to finish will require the energies and the time of at least a dozen more able men than myself.

I trust that I have, at all events, proved to the Government and to Parliament that the financial support they have thus far so kindly granted me has not been wasted.

J. F. VAN OORDT.

Cape Town, 28th February, 1907.

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Besides these, use has been made of the Vocabularies found in the works of Barth, Schweinfurth, Stanley, and Johnstone, as well as of Livingstone. The above list naturally does not comprise any works on general philology, or general works on Africa, a large number of which have been perused.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE BANTU.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor.

1907.

#### SECTION I.

When Dr. W. H. J. Bleek died on the 17th of August, 1875, near Cape Town, the Science of Philology lost one of its greatest and most ardent students. His loss to the scientific world was particularly lamentable for more than one reason. Cut off in the midst of a great work, at an age when most men are still capable of mental and bodily exertions, he left that great work —" The Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages "—unfinished: and what made his death most grievously felt was the fact that he left behind him nobody who was either capable or willing to continue the work so propitiously begun. Bleek was a student in the fullest sense of the word; he was always employed in collecting new facts and data, always busy extending the already wide range of his knowledge. He never was a teacher; he never trained any student; he left no pupil or pupils to whom he had imparted any of the knowledge he had of the particular branch of Philology upon which he was engaged. The natural result of all this was, that since Bleek's death little or nothing has been done in Bantu Philology, at least not as far as independent research is concerned.

It is true, however, that in the 32 years that have elapsed since his death, we have obtained a far greater knowledge of the Bantu languages than Bleek ever possessed. With the opening up of the great centre of Africa there rose up before our eyes tribe after tribe, speaking dialects of Bantu, of which Bleek could never have dreamt. A large number of grammars, dictionaries and vocabularies have passed through the press in that third of a century; indeed, the accumulation of new facts and data has grown to such an extent, that the most enthusiastic student finds it impossible to master even the very elementary principles of the more than 200 Bantudialects at present spoken over the greater part of Africa.

As is always the case in a young science, the material, at present at the disposal of the student of the Bantu-languages,

is anything but homogeneous. There is, indeed, a good deal of solid, useful material, carefully gathered by competent men; there is not a little absolutely useless stuff thrown upon the pseudo-scientific market by men who were better acquainted with the rifle than with the science of language. Above all, there is an immense amount of indifferent work collected by amateurs who meant well, and often did very fair work, but who were unable to grasp true philological principles on account of never having had any scientific training. Hence it is often the painful and laborious task of the student to separate the good wheat from the chaff. What often makes the work of the writers practically useless is their unacquaintance with the elements of phonology. Instead of following either Lepsius' system or that of the Missions (introduced by the late Professor Max Müller), several compilers of vocabularies have followed a system of their own, and, with unpractised ears, have put the most absurd sounds upon paper. So we have, inter alia, a vocabulary of the Kamba-language, in which some of the words end in r, an absolutely impossible ending for any Bantu word. To this must be added the fact that very often the spelling varies in writers of different nationalities. Where, e.g., the English authors write umbundu, the French write oumboundou; such things must not be lost sight of when we make use of valuable contributions in French, such as Junod's splendid monographies on the Ba-Ronga tribe.

It would be useless to deny that, for a considerable part of our present knowledge of the various Bantu-languages, we are to thank the Mission Societies and their workers. ever these men have gone, they have rightly considered it their first duty to become acquainted with the language of the people, to whom they were to preach the Gospel. As soon as they had sufficient knowledge of the particular dialect they came in touch with, they began to translate portions of Scripture; vocabularies then followed, afterwards shorter or larger grammars, and, in many instances we find even most valuable dictionaries, based upon a careful study of the language. Koelle, Krapf, Steere, Livingstone, Boyce, Arbousset, Grout, Colenso (not to mention many more) were the first to do good and sound work. Among the many fine works of later times from the hands of missionaries we may mention Brincker's Otyi-Herero Dictionary, as well as his grammar and dictionary of Oshikuanjama; Scott's Mang'anja Dictionary, Bentley's Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo language, and the recently published splendid dictionary of the Zulu language

by the Rev. A. I. Bryant.

In Central Africa valuable work has been done by Sir H. H. Johnston and his able assistants, who have made us acquainted with the Masai language, which, though not belonging to the

Bantu group, has had no little influence upon several Bantu languages. The Germans are also beginning to pay attention to this Central Group of Bantu, which is of the utmost importance. Yet there is a large lacuna here, waiting to be filled up, and good grammars and dictionaries of Luganda, Ki-Hima, and the dialects of the other tribes surrounding lake Victoria Nyanza, are urgently wanted.

The vast country constituting the independent Congo State is practically unexplored from a linguistic point of view, al-

though Sims and others have made a good beginning.

In the West, from the mouth of the Congo to the borders of Liberia, and in the great Hinterland behind it, fine work has been done by the French, not only by the Roman Catholic missionaries, but also by a number of French officers, many of whom have been specially selected for this purpose by the French Government.

In Northern Rhodesia Mr. A. C. Madan is at present doing very fine preliminary work, as is proved by his recent handbooks on the Senga and Wisa dialects. But much is required to be done yet in this neighbourhood. A good grammar of Mashona is required; or better, a series of works upon the Mashona, such as the Rev. H. Junod has written upon the Ba-Ronga. From Elliot's Dictionary of Tebele and Shuna it is perfectly clear that the Mashonas speak a most remarkable

and interesting Bantu-dialect.

From the above it is apparent that the student of Bantu has at present a large amount of material at his disposal, and is thus enabled to undertake researches and reach conclusions, which Dr. Bleek could never have dreamt of. Besides this, it should be borne in mind that, since the days of Bleek, Philology has made gigantic strides. Not only have we solved the Assyrian problem to a remarkable completeness, but we have proved, thanks to Lenormant's valuable labours, that in very ancient times, about 4500 B.C., there lived at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates a highly-cultivated nation, the Sumerians, who spoke a language nearly related to Finnish, that is a language belonging to the so-called Ugro-Altaic group. This is a fact which, as I hope to show in this essay, is of the utmost importance to the student of the Bantu languages, a fact which will completely revolutionise our present ideas regarding this particular province of Philology.

The Ugro-Altaic group itself has been very carefully studied during the last forty years. Whatever the faults of the Government of Russia may be, want of interest in the study of the languages of its subjects in Asia has never been one of them. It has always granted ample support to students, and a mere glance at the reports and the works of the splendid Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg is sufficient to convince anybody of the correctness of this assertion. The best dictionaries of

Mongolian, Mandchu and Turki are in Russian. Castrén, a Finn by birth, has done more to make us acquainted with the languages related to Finnish than perhaps any other scholar. The Hungarians, whose language belongs to the same group, have taken up the question in real earnest, and Vambery and Hunfalvy have done most valuable work. The Germans and Austrians have followed their lead, and at present we have a considerable number of works in German upon the subject. A small work by Dr. J. Grunzel, of Vienna, entitled: "Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen" (1895), is perhaps one of the most concisely and clearly written books upon a vast subject, and personally I am much beholden to it, as through it my eyes were opened, and it made me see

the Bantu in a clear and unmistakeable light.

Bleek was deprived of these opportunities. Indeed, he really never devoted himself to the question of the Origin of the Bantu languages. His main work was to compare a number of Bantu dialects with each other; he moved absolutely within the Bantu circle. It is true that he seems to have had even as his great friend and protector, our never-to-be-forgotten Governor, Sir George Grey, an idea that there was a strong link between the languages of Africa and those of Australia, New Zealand and Polynesia. That relation does exist, but not in the sense usually applied to it. Bantu and Australian are but the different radii from a common Proto-Turanian centre; hence their relationship. The fact has, however, given rise to a good deal of misapprehension, and this was not a little strengthened by the theory of the late Dr. Sclater, who placed a now submerged continent, Lemuria, between Africa and Australia. The Revd. A. I. Bryant has unfortunately been led astray by this theory, and in the introduction to his Dictionary of the Zulu language has ventured to assert that the Bantu moved from Lemuria into Africa. This theory must be considered as untenable in the face of the fact that the greater eastern half of Madagascar is inhabited by a nation which speaks a pure Dravidian dialect, and which, in my humble opinion, has as its fatherland the South-East coast of India. Although on the west coast of Madagascar a Bantu dialect is spoken, it is fairly certain that the tribes which speak it were originally either immigrants from Africa or, what I think more likely, were placed there against their will by the earlier Dravidian inhabitants.\*

We have to look outside of Africa for the origin of the Bantu race. In trying to solve the problem we are necessarily thrown back upon the resources of Comparative Philology and,

<sup>\*</sup> I do not consider myself qualified to pass an opinion upon the Lemurian theory, though I believe that there exists a good deal of zoological and botanical evidence in favour of it. But if Lemuria ever did exist, I am convinced that it became submerged before the human race entered upon its Western migrations.

to a small extent, upon the somewhat dangerous principles of Comparative Religion. All other resources are closed to us. The Bantu knew no other art than the making of pottery and the plaiting of mats; several of the tribes, but not all, were acquainted with the art of melting iron ore and hammering the hot iron into weapons or implements. It may be that some of the tribes which arrived in Africa, at a later period, were acquainted with the art of weaving a rough cloth, but the evidence upon this point is not quite convincing. The Bantu have left no buildings behind them, for the huts they lived in were but frail fabrics. The antiquary will thus find little scope for his science in Africa, south of Egypt and Libya. Still less does the historian. Everything before 1500 A.D. is practically an absolute blank as far as the history of the Bantu is concerned, and the few data we have in Arabic writers about the Zani do not throw much light upon their history. It may be, as Dr. G. M. Theal surmises, that in ancient Arabic unpublished writings, we may find something more definite about the Bantu along or near the East Coast of Africa, between Cape Guardafui and Cape Delgado. But if we do, it should be remembered that the ancient Arabic authors were not a little given to exaggeration, and were not altogether unacquainted with the "art of prevarication," and that hence any information given by them has to be received with the greatest caution.

Philology must, therefore, be our guide, and in a case like the present it is perhaps our surest guide under the circumstances. There have been conditions under which a race has lost its original language, and has adopted the language of another race as its own. So the French, originally a Teutonic race, have adopted a Romance language; in South Africa, the Berg-Damaras, a pure Bantu race, speak Hottentot, the language of their conquerors. On the West Coast of Central Africa, there are tribes which were probably originally pure Bantu, but which now speak a Negro dialect, and the converse case has been found too. In Fulde and in Haussa we have two languages made up of all kinds of elements—Bantu, Hamitic, Negro, Berber and Arabian. Yet there can be no doubt but that originally both the Fulde and the Haussa tribes are of true Bantu origin, though in ancient times they may have borne another name, and though a large percentage of the blood now flowing through their veins is of non-Bantu origin.

But, in general, putting extraordinary circumstances aside, a race maintains its language as one of its racial characteristics, and even political union does not always interfere with this general rule, as, for instance, is shown in Switzerland. On the other hand, it must be clearly remembered that in a race which has been subject to migrations, the language is apt to

undergo various changes. Such changes are partly due to climatic influences, partly to change of customs, partly to the fact that, even if the race keeps its blood pure, the language will absorb words from other languages, so-called *loan-words*.

In Africa the Bantu became not the slaves of the indigenous races, but their conquerors, and that evidently from an early date.\* But, notwithstanding that fact, the Bantu languages did absorb some part of the vocabulary of the languages of other races. In West Bantu we can clearly trace the influence of the true Negro languages; in Central Bantu that of the Nilotic and Masai languages; in some southern Bantu dialects we meet the clicks of the Hottentot, who though not indigenous to Africa, evidently reached that continent long before the Bantu did. In East Bantu, along the coast, there is a strong Semitic element, principally due to Arabian influence; in Mashona there is another Semitic element, which is, however, of far older origin, and must, without the slightest doubt, be referred to Assyrian.

Yet, broadly speaking, the Bantu languages have remained remarkably pure under the circumstances, and in more than 70 per cent. of the words, we have no trouble in tracing them to their original roots.

It is quite different with Bantu Phonology. Here climatic influences and certain customs have created some of the most remarkable changes. The tribes who live on highlands have a completely different pronunciation from those who live in the lowlands or along the coast. In some Bantu languages we still find the old original  $uvular\ r$  or  $gh,\ e.g.$ , in Kafir; while in others the gh has been lost and the more modern r sound substituted, a fact which may be due to the influence of original elements, but was probably not altogether unconnected with climatic influences.

In some tribes, who (or whose ancestors) were in the habit of knocking out their front teeth, we find *labialisation* of the *sibilantic* sounds, *i.e.*, a tendency to lisp. Thus we have in Zulu hl for s, and thl for an original ts or g. The custom of some tribes of boring holes in their upper lip and inserting a ring (the pelele) must have considerably interfered with the pronunciation of certain sounds, and made it impossible for them to sound either p, b, or m in the ordinary manner. Hence we find these letters replaced by other, often very complicated, sounds.

<sup>\*</sup> Though I believe such to have been the general fact, I should wish to state here, that it is evident to me, that at some period or other, a section of the Bantu, including inter alia the ancestors of the South Eastern Bantu (Zulu, Kosa, Amabomba, etc.) was subjected by the great Masai tribe, and that this fact has not been without its influence upon the language of these Bantu tribes.

This question of Bantu Phonology cannot be treated in this essay, as the subject is too vast and far-reaching. I have only referred to it in order to show its importance, and to illustrate in how far the pronunciation, and hence the spelling of Bantu in its various dialects is affected.

The questions to be answered in this essay are:

#### I. WHAT IS BANTU?

#### 2. WHENCE DID THE BANTU RACE ORIGINATE?

It may seem very audacious on the part of the writer to try and give the answer to these two questions, which are of such immense importance not only to South Africa and to Africa generally, but also to the Science of Philology. Yet the writer's researches and studies during an unbroken period of three years have gradually convinced him of the general correctness of his answers, and for that reason he considers it his duty to place the results of his work before the scientific public as well as before general readers.

The answers to the above questions may be conveniently gathered in the following *theses*:

I. The Bantu language belongs to that group of languages,

generally known as the Ugro-Altaic.

II. The fact that in the Bantu language there are two distinct groups of words, one of which is far more archaic than the other, entitles us to come to the conclusion that there have been TWO Bantu invasions of Africa.

III. The first Bantu invasion of Africa commenced from some part in or near Hindostan, and the language of these first invaders is directly connected with the Non-

Aryan languages of India.

IV. The second Bantu invasion of Africa started from the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, and probably

took place about the year 680 B.C.

V. The real original home of the Bantu race is the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Pagan races at present found in that Peninsula are ethnographically and linguistically very nearly related to the present Bantu races of Africa. And as a corollary I beg to add:

VI. The Ugro-Altaic group of languages as well as the Bantu, which forms part of that group, have arisen from a

mixture of Hamitic and Turanian elements.

It is now my duty to adduce the proofs in support of the above assertions. In doing so, I wish to remind my readers that this essay is merely a preliminary study, and that hence I must be as succinct and short as possible. The more voluminous proofs and the more elaborate arguments in support of my theory must stand over until I am enabled to put my larger work upon the subject through the press. I am only

at the very threshold of my labours, so to speak, and for that reason I have limited myself in this essay to what may be called the *lexicological* part of the Bantu languages. I have not touched upon grammatical formations, partly because my researches on this matter have scarcely begun, partly because otherwise this essay would become too bulky. I have only very slightly touched upon the important question of the Bantu *prefixes*. The object of this essay is, as said before, merely to make the philological world in particular, and the reading public in general, acquainted with a discovery, which the writer believes to be of considerable interest and scientific value.

#### SECTION II.

Dr. Joseph Grunzel gives on pp. 4–8 of his "Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen" (Wilhelm Friedrich, Vienna, 1895) a review of the different languages which belong to the so-called Ugro-Altaic group, which he divides as follows:—

I. Uralian or Ugrian Group

{ (a) Samojedian. (b) Finnish. (a) Turki. (b) Mongolian. (c) Tungusian.

(c) Tungusian. (d) Japanese.

Each of the sub-divisions of the two groups is again split up into various languages and dialects. Thus: Lappish, Esthonian, Permian, Votish, as well as Finnish itself, belong to the Finnish group, with several others; while Uigurish, Kirgish, Osmanli (Turkish) and Tataric, belong with many others to the Turki division. The Mongolian sub-division contains, inter alia, the East—and West—Mongolian, the Kalmuk, and the Buretian; Manchu belongs to the Tungusian group, while Japanese forms a group in itself, but has various dialects, slightly differing from each other.\*

Grunzel has not included Accadian nor Sumerian in his division, but Lenormant correctly classes these with the Uralian or Ugrian Group, and in general they seem to contain elements of both Samojedian and Finnish, and to be probably an older branch. But Accadian, or rather Sumerian (for I consider the two languages to have been originally distinct from each other, and prefer using the latter name alone, for the purposes of this Essay) had an immense advantage over the other languages of the Uralian group, in the fact that it was reduced to a system of writing, as early as 4500 B.C., and

<sup>\*</sup> Japanese is generally divided into spoken and written Japanese. These differ considerably from each other, due to the influence of Chinese upon the spoken language.

formed what is called the Cuneiform Script. This system of writing was afterwards adopted by the Semitic races which settled in the plains between the Tigris and the Euphrates. With that Sumerian language we are now fairly well acquainted, though there are still a number of words or so-called ideograms which puzzle the best Assyriologists. Still, we know quite enough of the language and even of its grammar, to enable us to use it for comparative purposes with Bantu.

The great distinctive philological phenomena in connection

with the Ugro-Altaic languages are the following:

A. All syllables are open and end in a vowel. Occasionally a final syllable ends with n or ng. This is known as *nunation*. In some Ugro-Altaic languages, *e.g.* in Turkish, this rule would seem not to apply, but this exception is only apparent and not real, and the *final* vowel has really been dropped.

B. There exists a tendency to drop certain consonants between the vowels, which often results in so-called contraction.

For instance:

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{(I)} & \textit{Ugrian} & \text{Okul} & = & \text{son.} \\ & \textit{Turkish} & \text{o-ul} & = & ,, \\ & \textit{Kirgish} & & \text{ul} & = & ,, \end{array}$ 

(2) Mongolian tak (for taku) = mountain.

Kirgish ta-u = ,, Altaic ta = ,,

(3) Mongolian negu = to stray.

Kalmuck nou = ,,

Buretian nu = ,,

(4) Uigur ket (for ketu) = to dress.

Altaic ke-i = ,, Kaschgar ki = ,,

(5) Mongolian Kube-gun = child.

Tungusian kuña = ,, Japanese kō = ,,

(This latter example is a very clear instance of a mono-syllabic word arising by pure dropping of consonants and contraction from a polysyllabic word.)

C. There is a remarkable change of consonants in several instances. For example:

k = ch = g = ng = n ch = h g = j t = tj = d = dj j = ts = dz ts = dz = s = z l = r z = r = l p = f = b = v = m

D. To express adjectives (and, in a few cases, even substantives) use is often made of a repetition of syllables. For example:

Kirgish dzibdan-dzibdan = quick.

Altaic akkir-akkir = slow.

Manchu gilta-gilta = shining.

Manchu bura-bara = dark.

Osmanli javas-javas = slow.

Mongolian tandur-mandur = fright.

and many more, as given by Grunzel: l.c.

- E. The Ugro-Altaic languages are generally agglutinative in character, but the system of agglutination often differs in the various languages.
- F. The Ugro-Altaic languages have no real degrees for comparison of adjectives.
  - Ci. The cases are formed in Ugro-Altaic languages by affixes.
- H. The Ugro-Altaic languages have a special negative conjugation of the verb, a form unknown in any other group of languages.

These are some of the distinctive peculiarities of the Ugro-Altaic languages, and if we carefully examine the Bantu languages, we shall find each of these characteristics back in the latter linguistic group.

A. In Bantu all syllables are open and end in a vowel.

We often find that a syllable apparently ends in m or n, the m being in most instances the representative of an original n. In reality, however, the n or m belongs to the consonant following it, and represents the n as alisation thereof, a feature peculiar to the Bantu group, and of pure Turanian origin.

This nasalisation is not found in all Bantu languages in an equal degree, nor is it easy to find any particular rule for this

characteristic.

#### . Thus we have:

nakuba = although is Herero nanga = although. Kafir Suaheli butu = blunt ,, Mang'anja buntu = blunt komo = to choose, Mpongwe pinza = to choose\* Kafir (isi) peta = bow,, Suaheli  $(u)pindi = bow \dagger$ Kafir Mpongwe ompozyo=broad ,, Zulu banzi = broad chagua = to choose,, Mang'anja sanka = to choose Suaheli Kongo kina = to dance ,, Herero punda = to dance.

\*For the remarkable interchange between k and p, see later on.

tIn the Suaheli upindi we have clearly a very old form, and the n in this case certainly belongs to the original root, as is clear from Tibetan phon = archery; Annamese ban = to shoot, and Sakai and Malayan panall = bow. Dualla has the oldest form of the word in di-punga, really meaning "the thing that is stretched." There are several words in Bantu in which such an archaic original n has been retained, but in present Bantu the n is always considered, through false analogy, as a true nasalisation.

A remarkable instance of nasalisation is found in Herero oka-kambe = a horse, which in Mang'anja is kavalo and in Mpongwe kavala, and is derived from the Portuguese cavallo = horse.

B. There exists in Bantu languages a tendency to drop certain consonants between the vowels, which often results in so-called contraction.

Thus:

Kafir kulu=big becomes Suaheli kuu = big.Zulu twala = to carry twaa = to carry.(isi) tuba = chest(ki) tua = chest.,, Mang'anja kwera = to climb kwea = to climb.Mang'anja fika = to comeMpongwe bia = to come. Suaheli pika = to cookKongo via = to cook.muna = to discover, Herero Mpongwe mia = to discover. (in) dlovu = elephantKafir Secwana tlou = elephant. Suaheli killa = everyKamba kia = every.Herero tira = fearMpongwe tia = fear.

This list could be increased twentyfold without any trouble, but the above is sufficient to prove the existence of the principle, which is certainly of no little importance in Bantu

philology.

C. The changes of the consonants in Bantu agree in the main with those of Ugro-Altaic, but the former has besides several other interchanges, which were common in the languages from which both Bantu and Ugro-Altaic have arisen, but which appear to have been lost (except in a very few

instances) in the latter group.

The principal one of these interchanges is k=p=b=f=d, an interchange which had its origin in ancient Turanian where k constantly interchanges with p. B is the softer form of p, and in its turn interchanges with d, while f originated from an aspirated f and f and f are interchanges can be traced between Sumerian and Assyrian, and generally between the Turanian and Semitic languages.

In the Bantu languages we find them very regularly, as the

following few examples out of many, will show.

Mpongwe ke = also. Kongo mbe = also.(o)koko = ancestor.Suaheli babu = ancestor.Zulu (um)bonda = assembly. Mpongwe nkanda = assembly. Zulu buta = to assemble. Kongo kutana = to assembleKafir kwa = at. Mang'anja pa = at.Zulu kude = away. Herero  $\phi o = away$ . Kafir Suaheli (u)donga = riverbank.fungu = riverbank.Kamba kianda = riverbank. Zulu kulu = great.Mpongwe (m) polu = great. Zulu Mpongwe kora = to bind.bopa = to bind.funga = to bind. Suaheli Mang'anja  $\phi a = by$ . Secwana ka = by

Another change, which is not uncommon in the Dravidian languages, viz., that between r and t is sometimes found in Bantu. I have not been able to find many instances of this remarkable interchange in Bantu, but met with some noticeable instances in the Si-ronga, which has several old forms not found in any other Bantu languages. So:

Si-Ronga rumela = to send is Shuna tumira = to send.

, pseru = our ,, Zulu etu = our.

, randa = to love ,, Zulu tanda = to love.

, tatana = father ,, Secwana rara = father.

Herero tate = father.

Si-ronga majura = fat ,, Zulu (a) majuta = fat.

There are some minor interchanges between letters in Bantu, which cannot be treated here, but to which attention will be drawn when they are met with in this essay.

In general the interchanges which take place in Ugro-Altaic find their counterparts in Bantu in exactly the same manner.

(a) k = ch = g = ng = n (m).

### Examples.

Kafir (in) kumbi = locust is Kamba ngie = locust.

Mang'anja chambu = medicine ,, Suaheli (u)ganga = medicine.

Herero (otyi) huka = morning ,, Mang'anja mawa = morning.

Mang'anja kamwa = mouth ,, Kamba moomo = mouth.

Kafir (in) kaba = navel ,, Herero (o) ngna = navel.

And many more examples could be adduced.

(b) ch = h.\*

### Examples.

Suaheli chunga = to nourish is Herero hunga = to nourish. Suaheli chuna = to peel , Secwana huna = to peel. Suaheli changa = sand , Herero (e)heke = sand.

## Examples.

Suaheli gonjwa=sick, is Mpongwe jaga=sick.

Mang'anja ganda=to slay ,, jona=to slay.

Kamba guya=to steal ,, jufa=to steal.

Kamba gunwa=to drink ,, jonga=to drink.

N.B.—In Mpongwe the j is really the same as a y, and simply another form of writing the same sound, just as we write in English year and young, but in German jahr and jung. In Mpongwe, however, the j is very often used as an initial letter, whilst in most other Bantu languages it is, in such position, either changed or hardened into g or nasalised into ny.

<sup>\*</sup>In Suaheli ch is at present a sharp sibilantic sound like ch in English church. Originally, however, this ch represents (except in a few instances) an old kh, and this accounts really for the weakening of the ch into h. Such weakening from kh to h is very common in the Semitic languages, and kh in the other Semitic languages, for instance, is generally rendered in Assyrian by h. (See Sayce's Assyrian Grammar (1904), p. 62.) Suaheli has been strongly influenced by Semitic.

(d) l = r.

This is one of the most common changes in Bantu.

Mang'anja nyala=hunger is Herero (o)ndyara=hunger. Kafir (um) kokeli=leader ,, ,, (omu)hongere=leader. tala = to look ...tara = to look.Kongo

N.B.—In Herero the r (i.e., the ordinary English r) is more frequent than in most of the other Bantu languages.

(e) t=d. This is also quite common.

dia=to eat is Kamba tive = to eat.Herero (otyi)tyitua = fact ,, Kongo diambu = fact.(un)dva = to hope ... Suahelitaka = to hope.etc., etc.

(f) p = t = b = v = m.

There are a very large number of words in Bantu which show these interchanges, but the following examples must suffice:

Suaheli patu = lung.Mang'anja  $\phi u \phi u = \text{lung}$ . Mpongwe (i)bobo = ,,(u) mongo = marrow. Suaheli (u)bongo = marrow.Mang'anja panga = to make. Secwana bopa = to make.Suaheli tanva = Kongo vanga = Suaheli pva = new.Mpongwe miala = new.Zulu (isi)balo = number. Secwana palo = number.Secwana bona = to obtain.Herero muna = to obtain.Suaheli pata =Herero po = or.Suaheli (a) ma = or. Kongo (0)vo = ,,

(g) z (s) = r = l.

ala = to oppose. Suaheli zuia = to oppose.Kongo zonzeka = to prepare. Herero rongera = to prepare. Herero (otvi)raise = proof. Kafir (isi)zatu = proof.Zuln zika = to sink.luka = to sink.Kongo

D. In Bantu the repetition of syllables and words to express adjectives (and sometimes substantives) is a very common occurrence. For instance:

Mpongwe ogaza-gaza = active. kanda-kanda Herero = anxious. Kafir kohlakele = bad. Zulu (isi) dika-dika = a corpse. Secwana (le)here-here = cunning. Herero ti-ti = few. Kafir (i)holo-holo = hollow. Mang'anja (chi)tunzi-tunzi = an image. (u) kwe-kwe = the itch. Mang'anja nya-nya

Zulu (i)niki-niki = a rag. Zulu ratya-ratya = rough. Kafir tsafa-tsafa = ...

E. The general character of Bantu is agglutinative, but this varies in the different languages.

This fact is so well known that it does not require any proof on my part.

F. The Bantu languages have no degrees of comparison for adjectives. Reference must be made to some other object, or the matter must be expressed by using a verb implying superiority. Thus in Kongo the sentence, "that one is the better of those two chairs," is expressed by saying: "The chairs, these two, that one has excelled in goodness," and to say, "he is the tallest of all," the expression, "he surpasses all in height" must be used. So in Herero: "I am greater than he," is Ami omunene pu ye, which is literally: "I am great next to him," while "he is tallest of all" is eye omunene tyinene komeho ya avehe, literally: "he is great very above all."

G. In Bantu there are practically at present no cases, except the *Genitive*, which is formed by a preposition or an *infix*. There is, however, strong evidence of the existence of an old affix na, by which a number of cases were formed. In Finnish, where we find at present 15 cases, this na is still found in the *Essive* case, but it is more than likely that Dr. M. Weske is correct in maintaining that in ancient Ugro-Altaic most of the cases were formed by affixing na or some other short affix beginning with n.\*

In Kafir this na, in the form of ni (with occasional change of the preceding vowel) still forms the locative, just as it still does in some expressions in Finnish. So esityeni means "in the dish" from the noun isitya = dish, and I am inclined to think that in such adverbial expressions as kona (here, or there) and kunye = together, we also find this ending, the latter representing the so-called Comitative case (= with) in Finnish.

The subject is too intricate to be treated here in full, but certainly deserves the attention of Bantu scholars, as it throws a good deal of light upon Bantu philology.

H. Bantu, like most Ugro-Altaic languages, has a special negative conjugation of the verb, which may be considered one of the most remarkable characteristics of this group.

In Finnish we have the form en syo = I do not eat; Turkish has a negative form of the verb by infixing ma between the stem and the affixes. So in Bantu we find a negative form of the verb, which is constituted either by a *prefix* or an *infix*.

<sup>\*</sup>See the interesting study of Dr. Michael Weske, entitled "Untersuchungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Finnischen Sprachstammes" (Leipzig, 1873). Also C. W. E. Elliot: "A Finnish Grammar" (Clarendon Press, 1890), p. 23.

For instance:

Kafir ngi = I am. angi = I am not. Herero okusuta = to pay. okuhasuta = not to pay. Suaheli si piga = I have beaten. si ku piga = I have not beaten. Kongo evanga = they make. evanga = they do not make.

Altogether there are very many points of similarity between the construction of verbs in Ugro-Altaic and that in Bantu, but these cannot be discussed here, without entering more deeply into the subject than can be done in this sketch. It may be mentioned, however, that in most of the Altaic languages, just as in Bantu, the *root* of the verb is usually found in the second person singular of the Imperative.

#### SECTION III.

If the above remarks show a remarkable similarity between the morphology of Bantu and that of the Ugro-Altaić languages, the lexicological or dictionary part, shows still stronger affinities. In most cases we find in the Ugro-Altaic languages the same roots as in Bantu, sometimes in exactly the same form, sometimes changed in accordance with the known rules of

phonology.

I purpose giving here a short comparative list of some of the Ugro-Altaic languages and of some of the Bantu languages. As regards the Ugro-Altaic languages I am compelled at present to limit myself principally to Finnish and its immediately related dialects), Turkish, Hungarian and Sumerian, and Japanese, because, unfortunately, a really good Mongolian or Manchu Dictionary is not at my disposal. In the present instance I have limited myself to 100 words, taken at random from a far larger list in my possession, but the similarity of the root words are so strong, that even the merest tyro in philology must be convinced that the two language groups are intimately related. During the course of this essay several more examples will be given.

Ugro-Altaic. Bantu.

- I. Magyar sö-mo=the eye. Zulu (ili)so=the eye.\*!
  Ostiak sem = ,, | Mang'anja (di)so= ,,
- 2. Ugrian sul-do=cheap. Esthonian halv= ,, Japanese (ya)-sui= ,,

(s and h interchange in many dialects of Ugro-Altaic as well as of Bantu.)

<sup>\*</sup>For convenience's sake I have placed the Bantu prefixes between (), so as to show more clearly the root-words. In Ugro-Altaic the last syllable or letter is generally an affix.

- 3. Esthonian sanaka = staff. Zulu (um) saca = staff. Jakutish sawa = ... Secwana tsamma = ... (w=m in most languages).
- 4. Finnish sapas = boot. Mang'anja (n)sapato = shoe. Syrjenian sapoy = ., Kongo (n)sampatu = boot.
- 5. Finnish sapo=dress. Secwana seaparo=dress. (Compare Babylonian subatu=garment, which is evidently derived from a Sumerian root.)
- 6. Finnish häppo = quick.
  Magyar säb = ...

7. Lappish oive = brain.
Finnish aivu = ...
Mordwinian ui = ...

Herero haka-hana = quick.

Mang'anja sadiza = to hurry
(b = d)

Herero (omu)-uvi = brain.

8. Lappish naggi = to fasten.

Mag. nugas = to fetter.

Sumerian nigin

= to surround.

Finnish nälkä = hunger.
 Esthonian nalga = ,,
 Livonian nälga = ,,

Mang'anja (ze)nga to bind.
Suaheli na=to bind.
Kongo (ka)nga=to bind.

Mang'anja njala = hunger. Herero (o)ndyara = .. Mpongwe njana = ..

10. Finnish keikka = round. ,, kikkura = ring. Japanese kyoku = crooked Kafir (isi)giki=round.

11. Permian gögär=round. Sirjenian gögär=ring.

12. Finnish köna = stiff. kena = ,,

Mang'anja gango=ring. Herero (o)goho=ring.

13. Finnish jauho=meal.
Livonian jouv= ...
Sumerian ku= ...

Zulu (lu)kuni = stiff. Mpongwe keta = .,

14. Finnish tüd=to make.
Esthonian tö=to work.
Mordwinian

Kafir (um)gobo=meal. (g=j and b=v.)Luganda (en)gano=meal.

tyan = to make.

Japanese tateru = to make

Herero tyita=to make.
Secwana diha= ..
Ronga (yen)tya= ..
Suaheli tenda= ..

15. Finnish tata = father.

Magyar tata = ,,

Japanese tete-oya = 1,

 Mang'anja
 tata = father

 Herero
 tate = ..

 Kongo
 tata = ..

 Rongo
 tata-na = ..

16. Mongolian axala=leader. | Mpongwe oga=a king. Sumerian aga = leader. master, lord.

Luganda agalala = to sit in state.

Secwana (mog)ogi = chief.

(The root of this word is probably the Mongolian  $a\chi a = elder$ brother, which is found back in Suaheli (nd)ugu=elder brother, and in Secwana (nn)ake = elder brother. This very interesting word will be referred to again in a later part of this essay.)

17. Japanese suke=to help. Zulu sekela=to help. Isubu kalana = (Isubu has clearly lost the verbal prefix.)

18. Mongolian buru-k = dark. Tungusian buru = to darken

Mang'anja dera = dark (b = d) Mpongwe (m)pira = dark. Kongo bubu = darkness.

19. Altaic su = to love.Turkish sev-mek = to love. suki=to love. Tapanese Sumerian su = heart.

Herero suvera = to love. Kongo zola = Zulu (i)su = care, attention.

(The Herero huura = to love, is really from the same root, but with the interchangeable h form, which is found in Finnish  $hvw\ddot{a}na = to love (= Herero suvera)$  and in Finnish huoli = care.

20. Mongolian tsirai = face. Buretian sarai = face. Tapanese tsura = face.sux = face.Sumerian

Suaheli sura = face. Aduma (bu)shu = ...

21. Mongolian dobo=hill. Turkish dagh = ,,Catagaish tag = mountain. Iapanese tak-ai = high.

Zulu (in)taba = mountain Secwana thaba = Ronga nnthunga = hill.

22. Turkish dagh = again. Kalmuck daki = Mongolian daki = to repeat

Kongo diaka = again. daki = presently. Luganda Zulu duku-duku = to happen [shortly after each other.

23. Mongolian tusa = to help. Tapanese tasuke =

Secwana thusa = to help.Kongo (sa)disa = to help. Luganda tusa = to cause to [arrive.

24. Mongol gar = hand. Manchu gala = ,, Turkish kol = arm.Finnish koura = hand.

Zulu ingalo = the arm.Suaheli (m)kono = the hand. Kongo koko = the arm, hand. Oshindonga (oschi)kaxa = hand. 25. Mongol. kundu = to adore. | Kongo kunda = to adore. Tungusian kundu = adoration. Finnish kunnioittau f=to adore.

Oshindonga kunda = to salute. Herero kumba = to pray.

26. Mongol kitu=to cut. Sumerian xas = to cut.Japanese kata-na = knife. Tungusian koto=knife. Buretian kitogo=knife. Finnish (lei)kata=to cut. Suaheli kata = to cut. Kongo kuto = sheath of a knife Zulu kwata = to cut all round. Luganda (a)kambe = a knife. kutinnia = to cut. Kikuve Bobangi kete = to cut.

27. Sumerian  $\chi ur = to$  bind. Lappish kar-et = to bind.Sirjenian kör-to = to bind. Buretian kulenam= fto bind.

Mpongwe kora = to bind. Secwana golega = (k=g; r=1).(e)kota = Aduma

28. Sumerian  $\chi$ ir = to cry. Finnish kir-jun = ...

Kamba gure = to cry. Zulu kala = to scream Herero kua = Oshindonga kuga =

20. Sumerian kul = seed. Livonian kull = to sow. Kongo (n)gulu = to sow. Herero kuna = to sow. Bobangi (mia)këla = to sow.

30. Sumerian kumk = fingernail. Ostiak kunic = ,, Finnish kynsi = ,,

(u)kucha=fingernail. Suaheli Kamba (n)gwa =Haussa kumba =

31. Sumerian aka = to make. Tbuild. Japanese ku = labour.

Zulu aka = to make, build. Secwana aga = ,, ,, aka = ,, Suaheli Kamba (ku)aka = Luganda kola = to work. Isubu bola = to, make.

(The Isubu word is a very clear instance of the interchange between k and b in Bantu.)

32. Sumerian ka-ga = to name, Kafir (i)gama = to name. to call. Secwana kua = to call. Finnish kir-kua = to call. Mpongwe kamba = to speak. Kongo kamba = to speak.

(The real root of these expressions is ka = mouth.)

```
33. Sumerian
                                Zulu
                    ka = door
                                               (isi)caba = door.
    Japanese (old) kado= ,, *
Turkish ka-pi = ...
                                 Kafir
                                               (u) cango = \frac{1}{1},
                                 Mang'anja
                                                 komo =
    Maggar
                  Ka-puz "
34. Sumerian
                   kin-dea = a
                                Herero
                                              (omu)kinduia = a
                                     messenger.
        messenger.
35. Sumerian xan(hi) = a fish.
                                 Herero (e)hundyu=a fish.
36. Sumerian
                                 Zulu
                  gal = great.
                                              kulu = great.
                                 Kafir
                                              kulu =
                                 Manganja
                                              kulu=
                                 Secwana
                                              golo =
                                 Mpongwe (m)polo=
                                                         (p=k)
37. Sumerian gim = to produce
                                 Zulu
                                          ki-pa = to produce.
                                 Kongo
                                          yima = ,, (g = y).
                                 Kamba (i)londa = sheep.
38. Sumerian lu=sheep.
                                 Zulu (uma)lusi=shepherd.
                                 Bongo
                                          romba = sheep (r = 1).
39. Sumerian zun=abundant.
                                 Kafir
                                          zonke=abundant.
40. Sumerian kuma = to be
                                 Zulu pumula = to rest.
                        quiet.
                                 Mang'anja puma = to rest (p =
                                                            [k).
41. Sumerian \chi i = fish.
                                 Herero
                                                  (o)hi = fish.
                                 Kamba
                                               (i)kuva = ,,
                                 Oshindonga
                                                  (o)\chi i = ,
                                 Wisa
                                                         ,, (ch
                                               (in) swi =
                                                         =sw
                                 Oshikuanjama (o) shi = fish(ch
                                 Zulu sit-elesa = to protect.
42. Sumerian sit = to protect.
43. Sumerian an-kal=to look
                                 Mang'anja an'gana = to look.
44. Sumerian subbu = to flee.
                                 Kafir (uku) saba = to flee.
45. Sumerian tag = to ask.
                                 Suaheli taka = to ask (k = g).
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Herero tura = to live.

Zulu (i) pangu=hunger.

46. Sumerian tila = to live.

47. Sumerian paga = hunger.

<sup>\*</sup>The word kado by itself is not used in Japanese, but it appears in the expression kado-guchi = a door-way. The root of this word is evidently identical with ka = mouth, opening.

20	
48. Sumerian gal=to be.	Mang'anja kala=to be (k=g) Kongo kala=to be.
49. Sumerian kim=as.	Suaheli kama=as.
50. Sumerian kuku=to dress.	Zulu g(qoka) = to dress.
51. Sumerian mul=abyss.	Secwana moleto = abyss.
52. Sumerian mud-da = blood.	Secwana madi = blood.
53. Sumerian be=blood.	Herero (om)bundu = blood. Zulu (ubu)bende = blood.
54. Sumerian kal-an = strong. ,, kal-ga = strength.	Mpongwe (n)gulu = strength Kongo (n)gola = ., Mang'anja kal-am = strong.
55. Sumerian ba=to give, to [bestow.]	
	Luganda $wa = ,, (b=w)$
56. Sumerian dur=to dwell.	Herero tura=to dwell.
57. Sumerian kigar = dwelling.	Kaffir (i)kaya = dwelling (g = [y]
58. Sumerian $u\chi = flea$ .	Mang'anja ukuku=flea.
59. Sumerian ma=to call.	Zulu memesa = to call. (in form really a causative).
60. Sumerian sa=to call. Finnish sa-noa= ,,	Mang'anja (e)sa=to call.  Herero (i)sana= ,,  Suaheli (i)ta= ,, (s=t).
61. Sumerian pa = nose. Sumerian ka = ,,	Mang'anja (m)pumo=nose. Suaheli kua= Secwana (n)ko= ,,
/TT 11 in-t	abana of t and b and and

(Here we have a clear interchange of p and k not only in Bantu but also in Sumerian, which is of great importance.)

62. Sumerian (Gi)zug=reed. Mang'anja (d)zogo=reed.

63. Sumerian  $\chi$ abir=locust. Zulu (in)kambi=locust.

64. Sumerian gu=to destroy. Zulu (i)ngozi=danger. Herero (o)kuta= ... death. 65. Sumerian a-kal=current. Zulu (isi)kukulu=strong current.\*

66. Sumerian bar=brother. Manganja (m)bale=brother.

67. Sumerian bar=side. Manganja (m)bali=side. (the same word as 66.)

68. Sumerian sa-gal=food. Secwana se-ya=food (g=y).

69. Sumerian mul=on. Secwana mo=on.

70. Sumerian im=self. Herero im=self.

71. Finnish ja=to cease. Suaheli (i)sha=to cease. Kafir-Zulu yeka= ,,

(N.B.—In the first case the j, originally a sibilant, was changed into its corresponding sibilant sh; in the second case, as very often happened, it lost its sibilant sound and became y.)

72. Finnish laka=to cease. Mang'anja leka=to cease.

73. Finnish tuoli = a chair. Kafir isi(tula) = chair. Secw. se(tulo) = chair.†

74. Finnish kaula=chest. Herero (oru) kora=chest. Mpongwe (e) gara= ,,

75. Finnish powi=chest. Zulu-Kafir fuba=chest (f=p; b=w).

76. Finnish walikoita=to Herero vareka=to choose (v choose. =w; r=l).

77. Finnish kuweta=to climb Zulu-Kafir kwela=to climb.
Suaheli kwea=

78. Finnish kappa=mantle. Zulu-Kafir (in)gubo=mantle. Secwana kobo=,,

<sup>\*</sup>In the Sumerian word the a belongs to the root, for a = water and kal = strong. In Zulu the first k of kukulu is probably affixed, or the prefix was rather ku, so that we would have ku-akulu = kukulu. Later on the fact that the word really had a prefix already was lost sight of, and a later prefix isi added.

<sup>†</sup>It is quite possible that the Kafir and Secwana words are mere adaptations of the Dutch word stoel = chair, and that on the other hand the Finnish word is also a Teutonic loan-word, as many other Finnish words are. The Finnish may, however, be directly derived from the Turanian root tho = to raise, from which probably our throne (with the usual inserted r) is derived. The Mpongwe (sa)tanga and the Ronga (shi)tama, which may be related to the Finnish, are certainly not derived from the Dutch. I believe that the chances are that the Kafir and Secwana words are of Dutch origin.

79 Finnish watteus = clothes. Kongo (mo)watu = clothes. Kafir (izi)vatu = ,,
80. Finnish tulla = to come. Secwana tla = to come.

81. Finnish sääliä=to com- Zulu sola=to complain. [plain. | Zulu (i)silola=a complaint.

82. Finnish sakkoon=to con- Secwana sekisa=to condemn. [demn. | Suaheli hukumu= ,,

83. Finnish wamma = damage. Kafir (uk) wona = damage. Suaheli vunja = ,,

84. Finnish häta=danger. Herero o-kuta= danger. Suaheli hatari= ,,

(See No. 64, where the probably older Sumerian form is given.)

85. Sumerian me-lam = day. | Zulu (u)muhla = day. | Kongo | lumbu = ","

86. Finnish sämpää=button. Kongo sumbo=button.

87. Finnish pukea=to bury. Herero paka=to bury.

88. Finnish mytty=bundle. Secwana nata=bundle. (n=ny.)

89. Finnish (ky)psya = to burn | Mang'anja psya = to burn.

90. Finnish sywä=deep. Zulu suve=deep.

91. Finnish synkka = deep. Kongo (a)xinga = deep.

92. Finnish kokko = peak. Zulu (isi)gonga = peak.

(N.B.—In these two last examples the kk in Finnish changes into Bantu ng, which is in perfect harmony with the phonology of the latter group.)

93. Finnish kunta = family. | Herero (otyi)kutu = family.

94. Esthonian kaza=wife.

| Herero (omu)kazendu wife.
| Kafir (in)kazana= ,,
| Kafir kazi=female.

(The etymology of Herero omukazendu is as follows: omu = article + prefix for human beings; kaza = woman or female; ndu = person.)

<sup>\*</sup>Although the Suaheli hukumu would agree letter for letter with Finnish sakkoon, it may be that the former word is a direct adaptation of the Arabichakam, from which language many words have been taken over in Suaheli.

95. Finnish kisa = to dance.

Suaheli chesa = to dance.

96. Ostiak sana = fine.

Secwana se-sane = fine.

97. Finnish säülü=care.

Kafir i-xala = care.

98. Sirjenian si=sound.

Zulu (um)sinda = sound.

99. Livonian ibus = hair.

Kafir (u)baya = hair.

roo. Sirjenian si=a hair. Permian si= ,,

Mang'anja tsi-tsi=hair (plural)

Although there may be in the above list a few words, the connection of which might appear doubtful, the vast majority certainly tend to show how intimate the relations are between the Ugro-Altaic languages and the Bantu languages.

It will be seen that in Sumerian, as in a few other languages of the Ugro-Altaic group, there seems to be a tendency to end the words and syllables in consonants instead of keeping them open. But this tendency is possibly only apparent, for we are only able to read Sumerian by the light of Cuneiform script, and it is, in my opinion, still a question whether, in pronouncing the words, the Sumerian did not add a vowel after the last consonant.

It will also be noticed that a large number of Bantu words are directly traceable to Sumerian, with but very slight changes, and hence the question arises, whether we are on that account entitled to consider the Bantu, or, at all events, a considerable portion of them, as direct descendants from a Sumerian stock. This question will be treated in this essay at a later stage, but here we have first to consider another and more immediate question.

The fact that in the above list there is such a marked similarity between the Bantu roots and the Ugro-Altaic roots, must not lead us to the conclusion that Bantu is derived from Ugro-Altaic. This would be a serious ethnological mistake, for the differences between the two races, from a physical and ethnological point of view, are too wide for such an assumption. The Finns, for instance, and their nearest relations, the Sirjenians, have an undoubted strain of Aryan blood in their veins, and Aryan influence is also traceable in their language. In the Mongolian, Manchu, Jakutian, Tungusian and Japanese members of the Ugro-Altaic ethnological group there is a strong strain of what is generally called the Mongolian or Tataric element, an element which is at present not easily defined, but which would seem to be connected with the influence of an ancient Malayan race.

The Bantu have no strain of Aryan blood, as far as we can find out, nor do they show the marked characteristics of the Mongolian group, such as for instance the greater or less obliquity of the eyes, though this was, to some extent possessed by the races which in the very oldest times inhabited the coun-

try near the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The proper view to take, therefore, of the question in hand is to consider that both the Ugro-Altaic race and the Bantu race sprang from onc common stock, centuries and centuries ago. When they parted from that common stock cannot be definitely fixed, but considering the fact that the Sumerians are known to have inhabited the country near the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates as early as 5000 B.C., we must come to the conclusion that Bantu and Ugro-Altaic had then already entered each upon their own path of development.

In a matter like this historical ground fails us altogether. It is true that we may be able to trace certain myths, but after all the only sound footing we have is in the department of Philology, and we are absolutely limited in our researches to that department, though able, here and there, to call the somewhat uncertain science of Anthropology to our aid.

In doing so, we are at present compelled to take a jump, and to skip, for the nonce, certain intermediate stages which will be treated of afterwards. I must therefore ask my readers to accompany me to the Malacca Peninsula, where I believe we will find the origin of the Bantu.

### SECTION IV.

In August, 1906, there appeared in England a book which, in a remarkable degree, combined that practical view of matters, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon, with the sound scientific scholarship one is accustomed to meet with in German and French works and which (alas!) has been so often found wanting in even the best English works. title of this work is "The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," and the authors are Messrs. W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden.\* The former is already well known to the general English public as a man intimately acquainted with the Malay language and Malay magic. Mr. C. O. Blagden has been known to the scientific world as a valuable contributor to the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, especially to the "Strait Settlements" branch thereof, and his co-operation with Mr. Skeat in this valuable work considerably enhances the value thereof.

<sup>\*</sup>The publishers are Messrs. McMillan and Co., London, and the work is a credit to this already renowned firm. The works (two volumes, at 21s. each) are splendidly illustrated, and printed very nearly without a single mistake.

It is impossible for me to give even a short *resumé* of this work in these pages, and I must refer my readers to the work itself. I can only state here the bare facts.

In general the Pagan inhabitants of the Malacca Peninsula

can be grouped under three headings, viz.:-

- A. The Semang.
- B. The Sakai.
- C. The Jakun.

Though, as the authors have very clearly shown, there are large portions of the Malacca Peninsula in which the three races have more or less blended, the characteristics of each race can yet be easily traced in several tribes, which have kept themselves fairly pure. These characteristics may shortly be defined as follows.\*

A. Semang Type.—Height of men about 1,491 mm.; of women 1,408 mm.; skull-index brachyo-cephalic (or bulletheaded) to mesaticephalic; skin of a dark copper or rather chocolate-brown colour, passing into a "shiny black"; hair (which is generally shaved off) woolly, like that of the Negro and the Papuan; forehead low and rounded; nose remarkably broad and flat or "spreading"; cheeks full, but with the cheek-bones not very prominent; eyes round, wide open, and straight (i.e., not oblique like those of the Mongolian races); chin feebly developed (i.e., rounded off, and frequently almost unmarked); mouth variable, but rather large as a rule, the lips, which are also variable, being generally well formed, but sometimes turned outside or "everted"; beard, none to speak of, as a rule, but when found, thin and straggling, or, occasionally woolly like the hair itself.†

B. Sakai Type.—In height the Sakai are, I think, without doubt, a slightly taller race than the Semang or Negritos. The shape of their head, on the other hand, is in marked contrast to that of the Negritos, as they belong in type to the dolichocephalic, or long-headed races. Their skin-colour varies more remarkably than that of any of these tribes, being in some extremely dark-brown, in others a remarkably light yellowish-brown, much lighter than that of the Malays. Their hair, too, is long, black, and wavy in character, sometimes with a slight reddish tinge in reflected light. Their forehead is flat, and projects remarkably over the root of the nose, which latter is, as a rule, somewhat fine and small, and often slightly tilted at the tip. The cheek-bones are very

\*For particulars and for the fine portraits of the various races I must again refer the reader to the work itself.

<sup>†</sup>This description, as well as those of the Sakai and Jakun, have been taken verbatim from Skeat and Blagden's above work, vol. I., pp. 34-36. In the appendix to the work, pp. 573-602, the reader will find very valuable further anthropological data, which I could not take up in this sketch, but which contain much information from the hands of Professor Virchow.

broad, especially when considered in relation to the rest of the features. Their eyes are a very dark brown, small, horizontal, and often half closed, as different as can be from those of the Semang. Their chin is long and somewhat sharp and pointed. Their mouth is of small size, with lower lip full, loose, and often conspicuously projecting. Their beard is, as a rule almost non-existent, but a few individuals occur

who are fairly well covered with hair.

C. Jakun Type.—In height the Jakun appear to be, if anything, a little taller than the Sakai (in which case they would be the tallest of the three aboriginal races). Their head is brachycephalic or "bullet-shaped." Their skin is generally of a dark coppery colour, not unlike that of the Malays, but with a tendency to darker shades, which are, doubtless, due partly to exposure and partly to their manner of living. Their hair is long and straight, or "smooth," and of a dark bluish-black tint, such as is invariably found in the hair of Mongolian races. Their forehead is usually well developed. Their nose is, as a rule, thick, flattish, and short, with wide open nostrils, though it must be noted here that a more developed type occurs. Their cheekbones are very high and well marked, like those of the Mongolian type. The face, as a rule, is inclined to be flattish. Their eyes are dark brown, of moderate size, and rarely with some slight tendency to obliquity. They have, as a rule, a strong chin and somewhat square jaws. Their mouth, as a rule, is large and broad, though frequently moderate and with well-formed lips. Their beard is of the scantiest.

Thus far the authors of the "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula."

In the appendix to Vol. I. the following data are given:

Semang. Cephalic index: 78.9; 81.1; 74.4; 80.6; 81.6; 85.

Sakai. Cephalic index: 77.4; 76.1; 73.8.

Jakun. Cephalic index: 76.7; 83.3.

Capacity:

Semang. 1245 c.c.; 1425 c.c.

Sakai. 1370 c.c.

Jakun. 1032 c.c.; 1190 c.c.; 1230 c.c.

As I do not lay claim to any but the most superficial knowledge of the science of Anthropology, I shall not discuss these figures, but I beg to express an opinion that it would be well if some South African scientist, who is acquainted with Anthropology and skull measurements, would go to the trouble of comparing with each other these figures with:

(a) The known figures of the non-Aryan races of India.

(b) The known figures of the Hamitic races, i.e., Galla, Somali and Abyssinians.

(c) The known figures of the Hottentot, the Bushman, and the principal Bantu tribes.

(d) The known figures of the true African negro.

(e) The known figures of the principal Ugro-Altaic tribes

I venture to think that a careful examination and comparison of the anthropological data of these races would lead

to very important results.

Leaving such researches to men who are better qualified than the writer, I must now return to the discussion of my own department, that of languages. I have drawn up a very careful list of Bantu words and of words of the three languages of the Malay Peninsula, and I confess that the results were somewhat startling to me. As I wish to show how I came to these results I beg to give here a list of some words. On the left side will be found the Malacca words, on the right side the Bantu words, and here and there I have given some illustrations from other Ugro-Altaic languages. The list is by no means complete, but it is quite large enough for practical purposes, and certainly tends to show what the relations are between the races of Malacca and the Bantu races, and how far their lexicological affinities extend.

## SECTION V.

- 1						
- 7	И.	$\alpha I$	a	0	C	a.

	Malacca.	Bantu.
I.	Sakai pela=to abandon.	Bobangi kila=to abandon
2.	Semang $j\bar{a}$ = to abandon.	(p=k). Zulu $(shi)ya = to abandon.*$ Kafir $(uku)yeka =$
3.	Semang $\phi e = above$ .	Zulu pe-(zulu) = above in the heaven. Wisa pa=above.
4.	Sakai puru=abscess.	Bobangi $mp\ddot{o}ta = abscess (r = t)$
5.	Semang tuch=afraid.	Luganda tya=to be afraid.  Mpongwe tia=afraid.

Shuna tva = to be afraid. Haussa tuizera = afraid. 6. Semang te-koh = after-Ronga (an)thaku = afterwards. wards.

<sup>\*</sup>The shi in Zulu is naturally no prefix here, but probably means "a thing," so that the word is a compound one, meaning "to abandon a thing."

Umbundu (olu)wali = again. 7 Sakai pula = again. (p=b=w). Oshikuama vali = again. bua = again.Aduma 8. Semang ga-ga = strong. Kongo (a)-ngo-lo strong. (reduplication of root ga.) Wisa. (a)-ko-sa = strong. Luganda gu-mir = strong. (N.B. mir = man.)Oshindonga (zi)-gu. Compare Sumerian gal = strong. 9. Semang (ya)-sol = to stroke Secwana shola = to stroke. (e)sula = ... Tebele (Japanese sasura = To. Sakai Zulu (isi)pepo = storm.posh = storm.päa = Kafir (isi) pango = storm.bui = Wisa (im) pepo = storm.(Sumerian papa = storm.) 11. Semang begiyu = storm. Luganda (ki)buyaga = storm.(omu)yaga = storm.(with metathesis of y and g.) 12. Sakai helu = storm. Mpongwe (o)gula = storm.hal-hül = (Sumerian im-hul = storm.) (with reduplication.) 13. Sakai dudao = stick. Mang'anja (n)dodo = stick.Kamba (n) deta = stick. 14. Sakai lu-dal = stick. Luganda (o)luga = stick.Zulu (u)luti = ...(u) mbele = stone. 15. Semang balu=stone. Zulu Manganja mwala = ,,Dualla (i) dali = ,, (d = b)16. Semang' (va) nyan = Zulu mana = to standIto stand. (ny = m). Kamba (u)ngema = to stand. (ny = ng). 17. Sakai jin-juk = to stand. Kongo jujila = to stand. (with metathesis?) 18. Sakai bit = to squeeze.Secwana pit-la = to squeeze. Bot angi pioto = .,

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19. Semang pia = to squeeze.
                              Wisa fina = to squeeze (p = f).
20. Sakai kenan = to squeeze.
                               Zulu
                                         ka-ma = to squeeze.
                               Manganja kanikiza =
                               Secwana (lo)-bala = a plain
21. Sakai baru = a plain.
                                                       (r=1).
                               Herero
                                          mbua = a dog
22. Semang wau = a dog.
                                                    (w = mb).
                                          mbwa = a \log a.
                               Secwana
                               (and in
                                         several other lan-
                                          guages.)
23. Sakai cha(cho) = dog.
                               Kikuya
                                           chui = dog.
              chau = ...
                               Zulu
                                         (i)govu = ,, (ch = g).
    Semang
              chu = ...
                               Mang'anja garu = \dots (ch = g).
                                           solu = ,, (ch = s).
                               Kamba
                               (Compare Sumerian (ur)chu =
                                                        dog).
24. Semang nyang = dog.
                               Zulu
                                               (i) nia = dog.
                               (Compare Japanese (i)nu =
                                                        dog).
                               Zulu
25. Semang 'mpa = to dream.
                                        pupo = to dream.
                                            nua = to drink.
26. Sakai
                               Herero
           nvo = to drink.
                               Secwana
                                           nwa =
                               Mang,anja mwa =
                               Luganda
                                          nywa =
                                                           )*
                               (Japanese nomu =
27. Sakai ngun=to drink.
                               Kamba
                                         gunwa = to drink.
    (another form of No. 26.)
                               Aduma
                                          egnua =
28. Jakun jo-oi = to drink.
                               Mpongwe jongo = to drink.
                               (Syrjenian juny=to drink.)
29. Sakai
          kara = to dwell.
                                           kara = to dwell.
                               Herero
                               Kongo
                                           kala =
                               Suaheli
                                           ka-a =
                               Shuna
                                           gara =
                                                      (g = k).
                                           (a)ga = to dwell
30. Semang ya = to dwell.
                               Secwana
                                                      (g = y).
                               Zulu
                                          (a)ka = to dwell.
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<sup>\*</sup>The old form of the Sakai is actually found back in the Dualla nyo = to drink.

31. Sakai ba, be, bi, bo, bu\* = | Zulu ubaba = father.father. | Kafir ubawo = ,,(See Skeat and Blagden op. cit. II., page 598.) 32. Semang ta = father. Herero tate = father. Sakai ta-ta= Mang'anja tata = ,Dualla tite = my father. ta-ta = father. Kongo Isubu te-ta = ... And many more languages, both in Bantu and in Ugro-Altaic. Secwana rara and Mpongwe rere are probably the same forms, where the thas been changed into r. Luganda kitanga, kitawe, etc., probably belongs to this group, though the prefix ki seems inexplicable here. 33. Sakai mahitn = fat (adj.) Zulu amajuta = fat(n). †Mang'anja majuta = ... (n). Secwana mahura = ... (n). Luganda amasavu = ... (n)(h=s).Ronga matura = fat (n).34. Semang mji = fat (adj.). amaji = fat (adj.). Kongo meche= maji = fat (n).,, 35. Semang (en)cha = fat(adj.)Shuna kora = to be fat.Sakai be-cho = fat(adj.)Herero e-kara = fat (adj.). Bobangi bakatala = to be fat. 36. Sakai gemu=fat (adj.) Luganda -gevu = fat (adj.)[Compare with 33-35. Japanese koeta = fat (adj.)Manchu hetu = ,,Sumerian (nu)-chu = ,,Jakutish sia (for jia) = ,, (adj.)

<sup>\*</sup>These rootwords, which include the whole scale of vowels, are of great importance, and tend to show that at any rate in these and related groups "vowels cannot be considered as fixed elements of the language," but that they are changeable as circumstances demand. Such would be in absolute agreement with the \*Vowel-harmony\* of the Ugro-Altaic languages, of which traces are found in Bantu.

<sup>†</sup>These and the examples given under No. 34 show that the fact that amaluta is now in Bantu considered as a plural noun, is simply the result of false analogy, based upon the supposed prefix ama.

37.	Sakai jaras = finger.	Mang'anja chala=finger.
07	•	Luganda (en)galo = finger.
		0 ( ,0
38.	Semang chand-ras =	Suaheli <i>chanda</i> = finger.
9	fingernail.	
39.	Semang $tik = hand$ .	Ronga (li)-tiko=finger.
9,	0	(In several old languages
		the words for "arm,"
		"hand," "finger," are
		confused or intimately
		connected.)
40.	Sakai' $ayam = fowl.$	Kongo $eyembe = fowl.$
		Kongo $eyembe = fowl.$ Luganda $enyonyi = ,, (?)$
41.	Sakai dena = fowl.	Herero ondera = fowl.
		(Compare Japanese tori
		=fowl.)
42.	Sakai puk: pok:	Zulu $inkuku = fowl.$
	pup: keok:	Kafir $inkuku = ,,$
	=fowl.	Mang'anja $nkuku = $ ,,
	N.B.—The form keok is	Secwana $kok = 1$
	found in only one dia-	Luganda enkoko = ,,
	lect, but it shows the	Suaheli $kuku = ,,$
	tendency to interchange	Wisa $nkoko = ,,$
	p and $k$ .	
42	Sakai seng = forest.	Zulu (i) singa = forest.
43.	Sakai seng — forest.	Secwana $sekgwa = 0$ ,
		Seewana senguu – ,,
44.	Jakun hu-tan = forest.	Herero (otyi) hua = forest.
11.	3	Oshidonga (oshi)chua = ,,
		Wisa (i)chonde = ,,
		Mpongwe $(i)ga = ,,$
		(Compare Finnish kaïra =
		forest.)
45.	Semang $maku = egg.$	Manganja maika = egg.
		Isubu $moko = ,,$
		Kamba $itumbi = egg.$
46.	Sakai $tab = egg.$	Ronga $tanda = ,,$
		(Compare Japanese tamago
	61.	=egg.)
47.	Sakai $zai-s = blood.$	Luganda (omu) $sai = blood$ .
40	Comong ust bland	7-1-1
40.	Semang $yap = blood.$	Zulu $(i)gazi = blood.$ Kafir $(i)gazi = blood.$
		Kafir (i) $gazi = blood$ .
40	Sakai hawa=air.	Suaheli $hewa = air.$
79.	Jakai mau - all.	
		(Compare Turkish hewa = air.)

50.	Semang mühai = air.	Luganda (o) muka = breath
	1	Zulu $(u)moya = air.$
		Mang'anja $mpweya = air.$
		Secwana $moea = air.$
51.	Sakai tela=arrow.	Kafir (u)tolo = arrow.
52.	Semang halag=lizard.	Oshindonga $ekalala = lizard.$ $(k = h).$
53-	Sakai huwah=to love.	Herero suvera = to love $(s = h)$ .
		(Comp. Japanese horeru
EA	Sakai hok=to love.	=to love.) Oshindonga chola = to love.
54.	(Probably another form	Oshikuanjama $hola = to$ love.
	of 53.)	Luganda (a) gala = to love.
55-	Sakai paä, pai=new.	Suaheli $pya = \text{new}$ .
00	*	Wisa $pya = new$ .
		Wisa $pya = new$ . Herero $pe = new$ .
		Mang'anja (tso) pana = new.
=6	Semang her-(kut)	Luganda (e) $kiro = night (h = k)$
50.	= night.	sugarda (c) mo - mgm (n - n)
57.	Semang tu-woi; tu-wi	Herero (ou)tuku=night.
	=night.	
58.	Sakai $lu = pig$ .	Mang'anja (ngu) luwe = pig.
		Ronga (ngu)lubele = pig. Zulu (ingu)lube = pig.*
= -	Salvai his -i-	Zulu (ingu)lube = pig.*  Luganda (em)bizi = pig.  Herero (um)binda = pig.
59.	Sakai bis=pig.	Luganda (em) biza = pig.
		Herero (um)oinaa = pig.
60.	Sakai kumo=pig.	Wisa $(in)kumba = pig.$
	10	Mang'anja $(n)kumba = pig.$
		Kafir (i) $hangu = ,, (?)$
		(h = k).
61.	Semang $pe=$ to cook.	Zulu $peka = to cook$ .
62.	Semang sema = all.	Suaheli $zima = all.$
63.	Sakai kilé=angry.	Wisa (u) kali = anger.
		Bobangi nkelele = anger. Kamba killalu = angry.
		Kamba killalu = angry.
		Suaheli (u) $kali = anger$ .
		Luganda (e)kiruuru = anger.
		(r=l).
*1	n Sakai gau is also "pig," and it	is quite possible that the above three

<sup>\*</sup>In Sakai gau is also "pig." and it is quite possible that the above three Bantu words are a compound of two repeated words meaning the same, a linguistic phenomenou not uncommon in Eastern language. Kamba has for "pig" ngue, which is clearly related to gau.

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64. Sakai
             jeboh = arm.
                             . | Suaheli
                                               guba = arm.
65. Sakai
             (a)bu = ashes.
                                Mpongwe
                                            (o)mbu = ashes.
                                                e'vu = ,,
                                Luganda
                                                     (b = v).
                                Isubu
                                              (di)bu = ashes.
                                Secwana
66. Sakai
           charu = bed.
                                              sealo = bed.
67. Sakai
               bok = to bind.
                                Zulu
                                         bopa = to bind (k = p).
                                Secwana boha = \dots, (k = h).
68. Sakai (che)kat = to bind.
                                Aduma
                                             ekota = to bind.
                                Bobangi
                                              koto =
69. Sakai
              kage = to bite.
                                Aduma : (e)kaga = to bind.
70. Sakai
            'lemun = tooth.
                                Zulu
                                              luma = to bite.
            lemuin = to bite.
                                Kafir
                                             luma =
                                Luganda
                                             luma =
                                Secwana
                                             loma =
                                Oshindonga
                                             lumana = ..
71. Sakai ku=at.
                                Luganda
                                             ku = at.
                                Wisa
                                              ku = ...
                                Umbundo
                                              ko = \dots
                                Secwana
                                            kwa = ,,
72. Sakai ba-kul = basket.
                                Bobangi (e) b\ddot{o}k\ddot{o} = basket.
                                Kongo
                                        (m)bango =
73. Sakai hongmeng = bat.
                                Zulu
                                       (i)gomongo = bat.
74. Sakai ti = to be.
                                Mang'anja ndi = to be
                                Herero
                                             ri =
                                                  ,, (t=r).
                                Wisa
                                             li =
                                                   , ,
75. Sakai (en)tu = breast,
                                Adumi
                                                tulu = chest.
                                                ntolo = ...
                        chest.
                                Bobangi
                                                 tulu =
                                Kongo
                                Oshindonga (o\tilde{n})tulo =
76. Sakai bu = \text{female breast.}
                                Zulu (i) bele = breast.
                                Kafir (ama)belc.
                                              =breast (plural)
                                Luganda (e)bere = breast.
                                Bobanbi libele = breast.
                                Dualla (di)be = ,,
```

[G.17.-1907.]

77.	Sakai	bah = brother.		a $(m)bale = brother.$ (m) $bungi = ,,$
78.	Sakai	kolo = elder brother.	Zulu	(um) kuluwe = elder brother.
			Oshikuan	jama (omu)kulu =elder brother.
			Aduma	(mu) <i>kulu</i> =elder brother.
79.	Sakai	chengru=to call.	Mang'anja	changa = to call. a chemera = ,, (i)sanga = ,,
80.	Sakai	kap = to catch.	Secwana	kapa = to catch.
8ī.	Sakai	kat = to catch.	Zulu Mpongwe	(qa)kata = to catch. $kota =$
			Wisa	
82.	Sakai	yak = to come.		kwata = ya = to come. $ya = ya = ya = ya$
83.	Sakai	bai=to boil.	Luganda Zulu Kafir	$   \begin{array}{cccc}       ja & & ,, \\       ja & & ,, \\       bila & = & ,, \\       bila & & ,,   \end{array} $
84.	Sakai	tohop = to boil.	Luganda	tokota = to boil.
85.	Sakai	san = boy.	Shuna Herero	(mli)sana = bay. (omu)zandu = ,,
86.	Sakai	hub = breast.	Secwana Zulu	(se) $huba = breast.$ (isi) $fuba = \dots$
			Suaheli	$ \begin{array}{ccc} \text{(ki)} & \text{fua} = & \text{,,} \\ \text{(eki)} & \text{fuba} = & \text{,,} \end{array} $
87.	Sakai	buta = blind.	Zulu Herero	(m) put $e = blind.pot u =$
88.	Sakai	kouat = companion.	Bobangi Herero (d	omu)kuao
			Luganda	
			Oshindon	·
			Shuna	= companion. (m) kwamjina
89.	Sakai	sika=to come.	Mang'anj Tebele	= companion. a $fika$ = to come(f = s). figa =

In the above list I have only taken up a certain number of words, which agree both in form and meaning, but if related meanings and somewhat divergent forms were taken up in it, the list could easily be brought to include 400 or 500 examples.

It has been said that language in itself does not prove anything, but in cases where such complete harmony exists as in the above list, I think the statement requires some qualification

But it could be shown that a good deal of the customs of the Bantu races may be traced in origin to the Semang and the Sakai. The former build "beehive" structures, like our Southern Bantu; the latter build the rectangular oblong huts found in Central and East Africa. Many of the marriage customs between the races agree, and the "spirit and ancestorworship," are found in the Malacca Peninsula as well as in Africa. Even the painting or "smearing" the body with white paint or clay is used in certain religious or quasi-religious ceremonies by the Semang and Sakai, just as is done at present at the circumcision rites in several Bantu tribes.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the Semang and Sakai ever came from the Malacca Peninsula to Africa. On the contrary, I am convinced that many centuries passed before the ancestors of the present Semang and Sakai, who left the Malacca Peninsula thousands of years ago, reached Africa. But this important subject requires some paragraphs of its own.

## SECTION VI.

Messrs. Skeat and Blagden's book contains in Vol. II., pp. 379-472, a very valuable introduction to the study of the languages of the Malay Peninsula. They rightly class these languages under the so-called *Mon-Annam* family, a name given originally by *Logan*, but often called on the Continent the *Mon-khmer* family. Both names are not very fortunate, as they really denote an artificial mixture which, in fact, does not exist.\*

That the language of Annam is probably a *purer* language than the languages of the Malacca Peninsula, I am convinced; but I do not think that this entitles us, as both the abovementioned authors and that great authority *Schmidt* do, to come to the conclusion that the Malacca Peninsula was invaded by a *Mon-Annam* race *from the North*. On the contrary, I am of opinion that the opposite has taken place, and that the

<sup>\*</sup>Annam or Annamese is the language spoken in Cochin-China, Annam, and Tongking. Mon is the same as the Talieng language, spoken in Pegu. Khmer is the usual philological name for the language of Cambodja. Dialects connected, and closely connected with these, are, however, spoken in India.

Malayan Peninsula was originally invaded from the South, at a time when probably the Indian Archipelago and Australia formed one immense continent.

In any case, as Messrs. Skeat and Blagden have taken considerable pains to prove, it is perfectly clear that in the Malay Peninsula we have *two* very clear types, as well as a *third* one, which is at present somewhat doubtful.

First, we have the Semang or Negroid type.

Secondly, we have the Dravidian type, shown in the Sakai. Thirdly, we have the Jakun type, which has remained the least pure, but which shows in many points resemblance to the Mongolian type.\* In how far this Mongolian type, can be considered as an original type is a "vexed question." From a linguistic point of view Mongolian as a language shows anything but originality, and is undoubtedly a Misch-Sprache (as the Germans call it) containing both Turanian and Dravidian elements.

In my opinion we have in the Sakai the pure Dravidian element, or better the so-called Hamitic element. Anyone who looks at the faces and the build of the Sakai as illustrated in the work of Messrs. Skeat and Blagden, must be struck by their resemblance to the Gallas, the Somali, and the Southern Abyssinians; and if one studies the languages of the Gallas and the Somalis (for Abyssinian has been too much influenced by Semitic to allow a clear comparison) he must be immensely struck by the similarity of the roots of these languages and the roots of Sakai.†

The Semang is the Negroid, pure and simple. Unfortunately the term Negroid is a very badly chosen one, and its relation to the term Negro is liable to misconstruction, as if the former was a kind of graft upon the latter, a supposition which is absolutely at variance with the facts. I should propose to call the Semang a Proto-Turanian, i.e., the main element in that immense race, which we now call the Turanians, but which at present contains Dravidian and perhaps even Aryan elements. The term Turanian, indeed, is often given to all the non-Aryan languages of Asia, and seems to have been used by Max Müller in that sense. There is, however, a very great divergence between these languages, though Max Müller was undoubtedly right when he assumed "a genealogical

<sup>\*</sup>There can scarcely be any doubt that the Jakun type, as at present existing in the Malacca Peninsula, has been strongly influenced by the Malayan element. Unfortunately nobody knows to day what the Malay really is. Personally I am convinced that he is not indigenous to this part of Asia, and I am very much inclined to believe that he was of Semitic origin, and that he did not settle in these parts much before 1,500 B.C. In all probability he migrated from Southern Arabia, and is really a Sabaean.

<sup>†</sup>Although I carefully went into this matter, and have actually drawn up comparative lists, this subject cannot be treated in this essay, but must remain over to a future opportunity, if such should offer itself. Vita brevis—ars longar must apply here.

relationship of all Turanian speech." It is, in my opinion, most likely that, at an early period, portions of the Semang or Sakai race went far north in Asia and Europe, but that, through the occurrence of the second glacial period, they were driven again south to more equatorial regions. Their long absence from the parent stock, the different environment and the influence of the colder climates, must have had considerable results, not only physical, but also linguistic; and perhaps this explains the divergence between the present Mon-Khmer group of languages and that generally called the Tibetan-Burman group. The people speaking these latter dialects certainly came from the North, as the most ancient legends show, but this coming may have been in reality a returning. The Khonds in India have a decided recollection of once having lived in the far north, beyond the Desert of Gobi.

That man existed upon earth with the Mammoth, the Cave-Lion, the hairy Rhinoceros, and the other animals which trod the northern earth between the *first* and the *second* glacial period, is a fact accepted at present by most geologists and anthropologists, although some difference of opinion exists about the placing of this period, and some scientists are inclined to accept only *one* glacial period.

The reason why I say that the great *Turanian* linguistic group contains at present even *Aryan* elements, is on account of the fact that in a large number of the *Northern Altaic* languages (as distinguished from the *Southern Altaic*, or *Bantu*) there are undoubted traces of Aryan; in some of the races which speak those languages there is even a strong Aryan element.

In short, I may state that I should be inclined to defend, both upon ethnological and philological grounds, the following propositions.\*

I. At a very early stage in the history of mankind the greater part of Further India was inhabited by a Negroid or Proto-Turanian race, which may have been aboriginals of this part, or may have moved thither from what is now the Indian Archipelago. At present we have not sufficient facts to enable us to determine the latter question.

II. At some time or other in gray antiquity—i.e., many thousand years before Christ, and perhaps even in an earlier geological period of the earth—this part of Further India was

<sup>\*</sup>It may be stated here that these propositions are by no means new or startling. Quatrefages, De Morgan and other learned men have held more or less the same views, though these have been violently combated by other scientists. The latest discoveries, to which I shall refer later on, do, however, show that Quatrefages especially had hold of the right end of the question, but that his views want careful testing.

invaded by another race of mankind, which we may call the Hamitic.\*

This later race caused a migration of the Negroid race, only a very small number of individuals remaining in Further India, and these are the ancestors of the present Semang in the Malacca Peninsula. The smallness of their number, and the fact that they were, no doubt, hunted from place to place by the newcomers, prevented the Semang from either increasing at an ordinary rate, or from making any material or intellectual progress. To-day the Semang belongs, with his relations, the Andamanians and Nicobarians, to the lowest races of man. In the Malay Peninsula several of the wildest tribes are still nomads, who do not stay longer than 3 or 4 days at one place, and the fact that this custom is ascribed to a command of the Deity, points to the conclusion that once upon a time it was absolutely necessary for their existence, that their enemies should not become acquainted with their hiding places. (Skeat and Blagden, I., p. 173, note). †

The Negroid race that left Further India after the invasion of the Hamitic race, wended its way westwards, and increasing in number, continually moved in sections to the west, so that it once upon a time formed the population of, at all events, the southern part of Europe. This has now been conclusively proved by the discovery of the so-called "Man of Grimaldi," who was found in Italy a short time ago by the Prince of Monaco. The skull of this man is of pure Negroid type, and

very nearly approaches that of the present Semang. t

But this Negroid race also invaded Africa, and here he changed into that sub-race which we now know as the *Hottentot Race*.

I am quite aware that this is a somewhat startling assertion, but there are a few proofs, which simply put the question beyond doubt. In the first place it is well known that the Hottentots are a *very* old race in Africa, and that in the very earliest time of historical Egypt they inhabited the land of

†In other races nomadic habits were developed by scarcity of food (e.g.), in the case of the Bushman in South Africa); in later cases, by the necessity of finding pasture for flocks (as is still done by several tribes in Central Asia). None of these causes could have operated in the Malay Peninsula, where both fruit trees, edible roots, and small game are, even to-day, very plentiful.

Hence the agency must have been human here.

<sup>\*</sup>I call this another race because at the time it invaded Further India it had clearly different characteristics from the Negroid races. But this fact does not really militate against the principle of Unogenesis, because it is quite possible that, at some remote time, the two races sprang from one source, but that they were compelled by natural circumstances and environment to follow different lines of development, which ultimately resulted in such variations, that they practically formed two races.

<sup>‡</sup>For particulars of this very important discovery I must refer my readers to an article by the renowned Dr. Verneau in L'Authropologie of May, 1906, Vol. XVII., pts. 3-4, where the matter has been fully discussed. According to Dr. Verneau this negroid type is actually still traceable in some of the present inhabitants of Italy!

Punt. In 1533 B.C. an expedition (by no means the first) was sent by Queen Hatshepset to Punt, evidently the present Somaliland, and of this expedition we have a full account and several bas-reliefs, which will be found in Dr. E. A. W. Budge's "History of Egypt," vol. IV., pp. 5-11. The illustration on page 7 in this book shows the Hottentot with all his peculiar-

ities, even to the steatopygia.\*

This must settle the fact that the Hottentot is a "very old inhabitant" of Africa. But there is remarkable linguistic evidence to connect the Hottentot with the old Negrito of Further India. It is well known that the Hottentots called themselves Khoi-Khoin, which is a plural form, translated as Men or (wrongly) "men of men," the reduplication being simply the ancient form of the plural, found in many languages, even in Sumerian. Now in some Semang dialects koin is a man, and in Nicobarese koinh, or koin, is the usual name for man or male.

Although I have gone to considerable trouble in the matter, I have been unable to find any other languages besides the above, in which the word *koin* or *khoin* is used in the sense of "man," although related words are found in other languages of the Mon-Kmer group; and this certainly shows that there must once upon a time have existed either a relation or an identity between the Hottentot and the Negroid of Further India.

But if one further carefully compares the language of the Semang and the language of the Hottentot, there is much in favour of the conclusion that once upon a time these languages were identical or nearly so. Naturally Hottentot has changed and has absorbed new elements in the 70 or 80 (or probably even more) centuries, since the Hottentots left the parent stock; and the Semang and the Nicobarese have changed, though in a different direction. Not being yet in possession of any good work on Nicobarese or Andamese, I have not been able to devote much study to this interesting subject, but hope to do so soon, and will then publish my conclusions in a short form.† But the following few words are certainly remarkable in their close resemblance:—

‡Hottentot.

Semang.

Kharob = bed. khora to stretch. Karob

= bed. = to stretch.

<sup>\*</sup>Skeat and Blagden in their aforequoted work, Vol. I., p. 578, mention a case of steatopygia in a Semang woman. It is a pity that this matter has not been treated more fully by the authors.

<sup>†</sup>An article on this question was published by me in the African Monthly of June, 1907, written since this essay was put in type.

<sup>‡</sup>For Hottentot I have principally made use of G. H. Schils' "Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue des Namas" (Louvain, 1895).

	Semang.
kviu	=to arise.
cha	=to go.
sa-ya	= black.
ā-eh	= to roar.
ā-eh	=dog.
aŭuli	= to drink.
ı ă-uin	=to throw.
chām	=to light a fire.
kaba	=cheek.
sabau	= beard.
dāh	= to go.
to	= red.
de	= to play.
ebeli	=much.
cha	=to speak.
(te) ga	= hard.
chă-lau	= jackal
	(ch = g ; r = 1).
ha (nadeh	n) = when?
	cha sa-ya ā-eh ā-eh aŭuh ŭ-uin chām kaba sabau dāh to de ebeli cha (te) ga chŭ-lau

Even the clicks in Hottentot can be traced back in Semang. So if we represent the dental click by | we have the Hottentot | aob = snake agreeing with the Semang ekob, which was probably originally jkob or gkob; Hottentot | awib = rain is the Nicobar ami = rain, originally gmi; Hottentot | aro = to increase, find its correspondent form in Nicobar karu = to increase, which was probably ykaru in early times. As already said, I have not yet been able to give the subject that attention necessary to form a definite opinion, but from the little I have seen, I believe that the study of these two languages would lead to astonishing results.

It is well known that the Hottentots have some idea of a Divinity whom they call *Tsuiguan* or *Tsuni-goan*. Dr. T. Hahn has written a work upon this, which, however, contains most improbable theses, especially the idea that *Tsuni-goam* was a Solar God. The fact is that *Tsuni-goam* is the "Thunder God." His name still appears among the Ao-Nagas in India as *Tsun-grem*. This is clearly the Semang *sion* = spirit, and the Semang *kaii* or *kare* = thunder, which latter name in itself constitutes a God of a Semang tribe. (Compare the Semang form *gumm* = *kaii*.)\*

<sup>\*</sup>Masudi calls the God of the Zanj, Maklandjalou, which probably meant in ancient Bantu "the Spirit of the Lightning." The Southern Bantu believe that the "Great Chief" has control over the lightning, and they never mourn over those who are killed by lightning, as they were "sent for" by the Great Chief.

At present this is all I can say in support of the theory, that the Semang who landed first in Africa, became there that race which we know as Hottentots.\*

But the *whole* of the Negroid or Proto-Turanian race, which had left the Malacca Peninsula and Further India, did not wend its way westwards. A considerable number settled in the Indian Peninsula, now known to us as Hindostan.

Messrs. Skeat and Blagden have in a little map on page 442 of Vol. II. of their above-quoted work shown that the so-called Mon-Annam Family spread to India, and have rightly classed the Naga Territory as one of the places where languages related to the Semang and Sakai are spoken. But it would seem that the authors have put too narrow a limit upon the distribution of these languages.

An author of great repute, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, has shown that there exists an intimate relation between the languages spoken by the aborigines of North-Eastern India, and again between those languages on the one hand, and the Dravidian and Tibetan languages on the other hand.† An examination of the vocabularies of more than eighty Indian Non-Aryan languages, given by Hodgson, shows this relation very clearly.

Another great authority upon Anthropology, Professor Virchow, came to the conclusion that there existed even some ultimate relationship between the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tamil of South India and the Sakai, and though Virchow arrived at this conclusion upon purely anthropological grounds, it is certain that the results of linguistic researches carry him out.

We must therefore come to the conclusion that a considerable portion of the original Negroid or Proto-Turanian race settled in India, and that these Semang spread over a considerable part of that Peninsula. At a later period they were followed by the Hamitic race, the Sakai, who were perhaps then already mixed with a Jakun or Proto-Mongolian element. In India the Semang element became the Kolarian,

<sup>\*</sup>I am leaving the real Negro tribes of Africa outside this essay, simply because otherwise my subject gets too vast to be treated in this essay. But I believe that the deeper we study the question, the more we must come to the conclusion that the lines between Negro and Bantu are far too sharply drawn at present, and that in reality it is very difficult to find the Borderland between these two. Naturally their languages have had an absolutely different development, just as the races had a completely different history.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Hodgson's valuable work has been collected in two volumes, entitled "Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects," which form part of Trübner's Oriental Series. In some matter Hodgson perhaps goes too far, but there can scarcely be any doubt that in the main his views are correct, and deserve more notice than has been taken of them till now. Although I have by other works checked most of his vocabularies, I must here state that without his labours as a guide, I could scarcely have brought mine to a successful issue. Another valuable little work is Forbes' "Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India" (Allen & Co.: London, 1881).

and the Sakai-Jakun developed into the true Dravidian. But the races became mixed in many instances, and tribes arose which contained both elements. The most important of these tribes were undoubtedly those, of whom we find the remnants in that part of the population of India now known as the Nagas, and who principally inhabit that hilly country of the Central Provinces, known as Nagpur. To these Nagas I shall have to refer somewhat later at considerable length, for there cannot be the slightest doubt, but the ancient Nagas are the direct ancestors of the first Bantu invaders of South Africa.

I shall now adduce direct linguistic evidence in support of this assertion, and in doing so I shall not only make use of the principal Naga-languages in their present form, but also of many of the other Non-Aryan languages of India. in the ancient times when the Bantu departed from India the differences between the dialects of the various aboriginal tribes inhabiting India were not as clear-cut as at present, and it is evident that elements not now found among the Naga-languages, but in the more or less related languages, must have formed part of the parent stem, and were thus introduced into ancient Bantu. Practically, the list that I am drawing up in the following pages, is the result of a comparison of about sixty African languages with more than eighty Indian dialects. It has, I need scarcely say, entailed an immense amount of work, but I considered it advisable, under the circumstances, to travel over as wide a range as possible, so as to be certain of the results. On the other hand the limits of this essay have compelled me to keep the list within certain bounds. Hence I only give here twelve words, but these are surely enough for practical purposes.

In drawing up these lists I have, as far as possible, traced the words back to their Semang or Sakai originals. The fact that this could not be done in all cases, is principally due to want of material. The only list of Sakai and Semang words at my disposal was that found as an appendix to Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," which, though fairly full, is by no means complete. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain either a Andamese or a Nicobarese dictionary. As regards the Indian languages, I have principally made use of Hodgson's Comparative Vocabularies, and of a small number of other Vocabularies and Dictionaries, which I was able to obtain with the limited means at my disposal.

Where I considered explanations or remarks necessary I have done so in a separate column, in which I have also shown the related words in North-Altaic.

COMPARATIVE LIST OF WORDS IN BANTU AND IN NON-ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

Remarks,	The words are arranged according to the corresponding roots in Semang and Sakai, thus giving a clear view of the development of the Indian languages from these, and of the Bantu languages from the latter. In	some cases, however, the Indan languages seem to have lost some of the roots, and then the Bantu is referred immediately to the Malacca roots.  Compare the following words from the Ugre-Alliaic group:—	<b>3</b> 0	Turkish hewa —air (3).  Sumerian mer = air (2) $(f=p)$ .  Votian kvaz =air (3) $(k=h)$ .
Malacca Languages.	Sakai gemuyong = wind   Semang begiyu = wind	Sakai puh = to blow     Sakai pää = air	Sakai hawa Sakai (ko)-hoi=breath	Sakai nya=to blow
Languages of India.	Sak. mwiyahe l Ceylon Malabar ayayam	Khassi phuh = to blow Padi phusa = air Chouras'ya phu-rim = air Ao Naga mo-pung = wind	Sindbhum Kol hoiyo Sontal hoye Rodong hyu Vaju hojum	
Bantu.	Zulu umoya Kafir umoya Mang'anja npweya Herero oru-muinyo Shuna mueya	Secwana phehi Suaheli upepo Luganda empewo Wisa impepo Senga mpepo	(3) Suaheli hewa	(4) Isubu ngoi, ngo sanga anga
English.	1. Air (1) Zulu Kafu Mann Here Shun	(2)	(3)	(4)

Remarks.	(a) The Zulu word is a compound of two words meaning the same, a not uncommon occurrence in Eastern languages.	(b) The second word in the Dualla expression dipunga means "bow," just like the let in Semang sen-let.	(c) The Semang and Sakai principally use the "blowpipe" as weapon, and the use of "bow and arrow" probably came into use after their arrival in India. Most of the words given here as "arrow," really mean	the "dart of the blowpipe." For that reason not many equivalents are found in the Ugro-Altaic languages.	Compare, however, Turkish tir (2) (r -1) sehm (1)	
Malacca Languages.	rong sen (loi)	tela tola	segar = arrow		hel	
Malacca	Sakai Semang	Semang (Andamese)	Sakai		Sakai	
of India.	san la-sang i-zang	tílösi	char sarh	pinju	bhe a-bu	cebi tilôsi
Languages of India.	Mithan Naga Nowgong Naga Ao Naga	Angami Naga	Uraon Sinbhum Kol	Kondh	Radong Nachhereng Toda	Sangpang Anga Maga
ıtıı.		nzanka /	mshale akasale (omu)zi	(dipunga)	mu-byi mu-gui bota mu yi	nmeibityolo Sangpang Anga Mag
Bantu	Mpongwe Oshikuanjama Umbundu Kinjamuesi	Nougo (2)   Kafir	Suaheli Luganda Herero	(4) Dualla mbanya	Mang'anja Kikuya Aduma Shambala	(c) Zulu
English.	2. Arrow (1)	(3)	(3)	(†)	(\$)	(0)

	n that aker," in so id arm	ld (1).	
	(1) From the roots it would thus seem that the arm is the "catch-holder," or the "taker," and this will explain the fact why in so many languages the names for hand and arm are identical.  Compare— Finnish kangon—arm (1).  Turkish kol—arm (2).  Syrjenian ki—arm (1).	hol h	
Remarks	roots it would thu catch-holder," or taxplain the fact the names for ha kangon—arm (1). kol —arm (2).	= hand (1) = to take = arm (1). = arm (1). = to catch.	
Ren	catch-explaines the n	chub kar karak kar fogni	
	this will arms the this will ylanguage identical.  ompare—finnish furkish Syrjenian	Sumerian Cagataish Magyar Magyar	
11	(1) From the arm is the arm is the arm is the and this when you have identically compare finnish furkish Syrjenia	Sun Cag Mag Na	
ges.	Sekai kan-gri Semang chas Sakai (pö)gan = to catch hold Sakai kom = to catch hold (Khmer kan = to take)	) hold	1-4-1
angna	= to = to = to	a T	nng)
Malacca Languages.	kan-g g chas (pö)g kom r kan	(be)	g he(la
Mal	Sekai kan-gri Semang chas Sakai (pö)gan Sakai kom (Khmer kan	Sakai (pe)gak =to hold	Semang be(lang)
	-ti = to take = to take = to take = to take = to take	•	take
India.	a a		bn bujam bhakau = to take
jo sas	na-khan-ti kai ka hansi = t khau = t hona = t ko = t	s a cot	bu bujar bhak
Languages of India.	Vaga ya hhong	rian	.a.
-	Bodo Tamil Lepcha Lhota Naga Kuling'ya Crambielihong	Bahing Vayu Kashmirian	Angami Naga bu Famil Thaksy'a bhe
1.	umkono mkono mkono mokono omukono mkono mkono	ingala ingalo guba ghogo	loboko aboko
Bantu.	.23	in in a second	lob abc
	Zulu umkono Mang'anja mkono Suaheli mkono Kamba mokono Luganda mokono Tsubu moko Shanhala mkono	Kafir Tebele Suaheli Aduma	(3) Bobangi Ronga
	(1) Zulu Mang Suah Kam Luga Taub Shan	(2) Kg Sin Ac	3) R.R.
English.			
En	3. Arm		

Remarks.	(1) Luganda era is connected with hi, with the ordinary change of l into r.  Compare:— Finnish ja = and (3). Votian no = . (1). Turkish ve = (3) (v - y).	
Malacca Languages.	ai nan = more, yet, still, and	Sakai lü=also, and Semang yan=remainder
Languages of India.	Lhota Naga na Sakai Telugu nni Tuluvu no	Lambiehhong la Sakai Ao Naga ya Seman Chentsu ye Seman
Bantu.	Zulu na Kafir ne Mang'anja ni Herero na Mpongwe ni, na Suaheli na Kamba na Kamba na Tsuba na Tsuba na Wisa na Senga na Senga na Kinyuamesi na Kinyuamesi na	Seewana le Tebele la Umbundu la Kongo ye
English,	4. And (1)	(3)

Remarks,	the commages for "he word is mang is an idea und he idea und he idea und kush	Finnish kana = fowl Magyar tyuk = fowl "" madar = fowl Sumerian chu = bird (
Malacca Languages.	Semang ma-nu = fowl  Nicobarese ta-fuk = fowl	chem = bird dena = jungle fowl
Malacca	Semang	Sakai Sakai
Languages of India.	moa nomya nua nowa	chari chene chene peri (p = d)
Languag	Chepang Thaksya Yakha Lambielihong	Dadhi Sontal Bhurnij Angami Naga
Bantu.	inyoni nonyane nyani nyani nyunui nyunui nyoni enun	ichuni chuni ondera ndege ndege
. B	Zulu Seewana Mpongwe Kongo Kamba Kikuya Luganda Dualla	(4) Herero Shambala
English.	5. Bird (1) Zulu Secw Mpon Kam Kiku Luga Dual	(3)

Remarks.	Compare:—  Magyar inni = to drink (2). Finnish imea = (3). Japanese nomu = (2). Votian juny = (3). Manchu omimbi = (2). Sumerian nag = (2).	
Malacca Languages.	Sakai nyo; ngun	Semang yam
Languages of India.	Dadhi pyu Pakhya piu Brahma nga Kami nei Toung-lhoe nwa	Ao Naga Namsang Naga joko
Bantu.	puza puza puza puza nua nua nua nua nyo nyo nyo nyo	(3) Mpongwe jonga
English.	To drink (1) Zulu Tebele Suahel Oshind Kongo Lugan Tsubu Aduma Boban Boban Dualla Secwai	(3)

Remarks,		SO III	Compare:— Finnish käyda Turkish ghelmek	magyar gyak = 10 go (3).  "jöni = to come (4).  Japanese chaku = to come (3).  "niku = to go (1).	gu
Malncca Languages.	ya = to bring ya chöp = to go	Semang hambin =to bring		leng = to bring	pātāp =to
Malno	Semang	Semang	Sakai	Semang leng	Semang patap
Languages of India	ya yiu = to come jia = to go	, . ·		yenga	Bahing'gya, pito=to bring
Langus	Denwar Sepcha Khasi			Brahmu	Bahing'gya,
ıtu.	ya ya ija a ja ya	hamba hamba famba	choka	yenda enda genda kende eyende enda	pita potologa potea puta pita
Bantu.	Zulu ya Kafir ya Oshindonga jo Wisa Oshikuanyama ja Senga ya	Zulu Kafir Ronga		Herero Suaheli Luganda Tsubu Aduma Shuna	Manga'njir Secwana Suaheli Wisa Senga
English.	7. Togo (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

· Remarks.	(1) The Bantu words of No. 1 are probably compounds, from <i>omi</i> and <i>lii</i> , This would bring the origin of the words back to the fact that originally fire was obtained by the twirling of one piece of wood upon another. The very common root-word <i>mi</i> = fire, seems to have been lost in the present Malacca languages.	(2) Dualla wea, Isubu wea and Bobangi meya may be connected with ancient Tamil veyya = hot, but I have been unable to trace our Walacce form for this word	96	Hukush attesh = iiic (3).  Magyar tüz = (3).  Finnish tuli = (3).  Sirjenian bi = (4).  Sumerian ki-ne = (6).		
Malacca Languages.	Semang (k)lil = to twist, to twirl	Semang metut = to burn	Sakai tot = fire ,, teki – to scorelı	Sakai būt = hot	Sakai anggu = charcoal	Semang ongoyd = to burn
Languages of India.	omi = flame le = heat, hot loloa = hot lolo = hot	mitu = flame	tu tiyya tu	bi =hot	togo-fire	ku = hot
Langua	Lhota Angami Naga Sontal Sinbhum Kol	Angami Naga	Irala Malayalim Tuluvu	Kumi	Savara	Dungmali
Bantu.	Zulu umlilo Kafir umlilo Secwana molelo Herero omu-riro Luganda omu-lira Wisa omu-lilo Senga mu-lilo	Suaheli moto Mang'anja moto	Kongo tiya " tuvia	Aduma mbua Kikuya mwaki Dualla wea	(5) Oshindonga etanga	Mpongwe ogom Kamba iko
English.	8. Fire (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

ges.	(1) The ideas of "life" and "blood" are nearly connected in all ancient languages. Ka is a very old word for "soul" or "life," as is proved by the Egyptian ka = the soul.	blood to have been lost in the Malacca group. Skeat and Blagden connect it with Sakai &-kur = body, but this is very doubtful.	Compare:— Finnish suku = bl Turkish kan = Tananese ketsu =	Magyar elet = life Sumerian muda = blood	poold
Malacca Languages.	Semang gas=life	Semang mahum = life, bloo	Sakai zais=life, blood	luka=w	Sakai lōt, lōd = blood
Languages of India.	Thaksya ka Bahing'gya husi Nowgong Naga azu Rajmahali Ao Naga azu	Sinbhum Kol myun Sontal mayam Savara miyamo	Singpho sai		Kocch lohu Tharu lohu Khamti liit Chentsu lahu
Bantu.	Zulu igazi Kafir igazi Mang'anja nwazi Tebele igazi	Secwana madi Isubu makai Kongo manga Dualla maiya	(3) Luganda omu-sai	Shambala	Wisa omulopa Bobangi malôngo Kilolo balongo Senga mlopa
English.	9. Blood (1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(9)

Remarks.	(1) It is probable that in Further India the Malacca races were not acquainted with the domestic cat, but only with the tiger and the tiger and it is but natural that when they became acquainted with the domestic cat, they transferred the name of its larger brother to it.	<ul> <li>(2) In (2) we apparently have the usual interchange between k and β.</li> <li>(2) compare: — kedi = cat (3).</li> <li>(3) furkish bulbr = figer (1).</li> </ul>	ka = cat
Malacca Languages.	baling = tiger	kuching ku-ching	Semang chiai = tiger
Malac	Semang	Semang Sakai	Semang
Languages of 'india.	pak-way bag baghi - , , baghi - , ,	pusu pusi puchche	chianu a-khu sya gai
	Taljen Kocch Kiswar Pakhya	Chingtangya Sontal Tuluvu	Mithan Naga Khari Naga Brahmu Dadhi
Bantu.	mpaka phage paka nabaka nempaka mpaka	કાત	singi chonjwe cchona ingada
	Mang'anja Secwana Suaheli Kamba Kikuye Wisa	Mpongwe	Dualla Shambala Senga Kafir
English.	o. Cat (1)	(2)	(3)

Remarks.	It may be that the Bantu mulu is derived from an old word tu or tui meaning "head," in some Eastern dialects, with the pretix mu, but I can scarcely accept this in view of the Indian forms. The idea of "above," that is "what is on the top," seems to agree better with the Indian equivalents of the two expressions. Though it may seem tempting to connect mulu = head, with mulu—man, I am convinced that the two words have, etymologically, nothing in common.  (ompare:— [apanese tsu muri-head (1).  Magyar fo "(2).  Magyar fou above.*  Finnish pää —head (3).  Turkish bash = "(3).	* This seems to carry out the correctness of the etymology of (1), as given by me.
Malacca Languages.	Sakai meta = above Semang kai	Sakai buj (w - L)
Languages of India.	Kocch mura Dadhi mud Thari mudi Abor Miri mituk Loborung mittu -above Balali mett Tuluvu mett	Thuling'gya bui Sinbhum Kol bu
Bantu.	Mang'anja mutu Oshindonga omutsue Kongo Ituganda mutue Luganda omutwe Wisa mutchue Bobangi mutu Senga mutchue Shambala mutu Shambala mutwi Ilaussa kai	(3) Мропке еwonjo
English.	11. Head (1)	(3)

. Remarks.	(1) In Bantu we have in (1) apparently a metathesis of syllable lono for mulo, a phenomenon by no means uncommon in these groups. In Kamba the l has been dropped.  Compare:—  Magyar nyilas=mouth (3).  Japanese kuchi = (2).  Turkish dihan = (2).  Kapi = opening (2).  Sumerian ka mouth (2).		
Malacca Languages.	Sakai mulo	Semang kann = to keep in the mouth	Sakai nyak nyag minyum nyui
Languages of India.	Denwar mu-lum	Lepcha ka Khaium Khasi khnium	Dhinal Kachcha Naga mimui
Bantu.	Zulu umlomo D. Kafir umlomo Secwana molomo Kamba molomo Isamba micomo Isabu micomo Isabu mromo Isabu mromo	Mang'anja kamwa K Suaheli kanwa K Oshindonga okana Mpongwe ogwana Luganda akamwa	Herero otyi-nyo D Kongo nua K Bobangi munya Aduma mugana
English.	12. Mouth (1) Z S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	(2)	(3)

#### SECTION VII.

Thus far I have established prima facie evidence of the fact that originally the Bantu came from Further India, but that the two races, the Sakai and Semang, having amalgamated to a certain extent, there arose a new race, the Ugro-Altaic or Turano-Hamitic (as it really should be called) and that the Bantu form the southern branch of that race. That is, at all events, the clear tendency of the linguistic evidence brought forward by me.

There is other evidence in favour of this theory, and fairly strong evidence, but I must leave the consideration thereof to a later stage of this work. Not to disturb the *philological* context of this essay, I must now first discuss the question of the second Bantu invasion, which, as I said, I consider to have

come from the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates.

I have in the first list, Nos. 27-70, given a considerable number of Sumerian words, which seem to be immediately connected with Bantu expressions having the same meaning. In the comparative list of Bantu, Indian and Malacca languages, it will be, however, seen that Sumerian, as an Ugro-Altaic language, is derived from the same original stock as Bantu. It might thus be argued that the Sumerian and the Bantu words are similar, merely on account of having a common origin. But there are certain facts which show that the connection between Sumerian and Bantu must have been more close and more direct, than would have been the case if only influences of common origin had been at work.

History teaches us that the various Sumerian and Accadian communities were conquered at a fairly early date by a Semitic race, which is known as the Babylonians. This Semitic race adopted, to a large extent, the civilisation of the conquered, which was certainly higher than their own, and, among other things, took over the Sumerian form of writing known as the Cunciform or Wedge-writing. This latter fact seems to have been of considerable influence upon the Semitic language of the Babylonians, as well as upon the Sumerian language itself, which latter took over Semitic words in its vocabulary.\* In the course of time the old Babylonian Empire came under the influence of the later Assyrian kingdom, which was also of Semitic origin, and gradually there seems to have collected near the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates a somewhat mixed population, known in Assyrian history as the "men of the sea lands." These people probably spoke a Sumerian dialect, strongly interspersed with Semitic, not only Babylonian, but also Southern Arabic.

<sup>\*</sup>That this is a fact is well known to all students of Assyrian and Sumerian, but the principle has certainly been carried too far in J. D. Prince's "Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon" (Leipzig, 1906). This is due to the fact that Prince has not grasped the idea that both in Sumerian and in Semitic we have a strong Turanian element.

There is, as every Bantu scholar knows, a very strong Semitic element in several of the Bantu languages, and a strong Semitic physical element, which cannot be of purely Arabian origin, is very noticeable in some of the Bantu tribes living in the neighbourhood of the River Niger in West Africa.

From a philological point of view, the Semitic influence upon Bantu can partly be traced to Arabic, and this is particularly noticeable in Suaheli. This Arabic element is, to a very large extent, of later origin, and is probably due to the fact that since the 8th century after Christ large Arabian colonies and kingdoms were established along the East Coast of Africa, from Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado. These Arabian kingdoms remained in existence till far in the 17th century, and even to this day, this Arabian element makes itself felt through the commerce which Arabians carry on not only along the coast of Africa, but also in the very centre of the Continent.

There is, however, another and older Semitic element in some Bantu languages, which cannot be referred to Arabic and which, I am convinced, is of Assyrian origin. The most striking instance of this is found in the *Shuna* language, spoken by the Mashonas\* or, as they call themselves, the *Makalanga*. A very fair dictionary of this *Shuna* language has been published by Mr. W. A. Elliot, of the London Missionary Society, entitled "Dictionary of the Tebele and Shuna Languages" (London, 1897), of which I have made use.

The following short comparative list will show how strong a relation apparently exists between the Assyrian and the Shuna language, and in some instances the relationship is so remarkable as to make a direct Assyrian influence, as it were, a sine qua non.

Shuna.

3. sima

= to plant.

1. pishana = a severe pain.	pishannu =to cause trouble.
2. dzudzura =to paint.	zurah = to shine. (as causative, "to make shin-

simmu

Assyrian

=a plant.

<sup>\*</sup>The name Mashona has been objected to by several scientists, who prefer to call the tribe the Makalanga. This latter name is supposed to mean "the People of the Sun," Ma = people, ka = of, langa (for ilanga) = sun. I strongly doubt whether this is not a case of Bantu popular etymology. As far as I am aware, the preposition of in Bantu does not enter into any tribal name of the Bantu. The Makalanga are probably an offshoot of another tribe found more north, and called the Makaranga (r = l), and this makes me inclined to think that the real meaning is "the people of Karan," which might have quite another explanation. Why the term Mashona should be objected to, I cannot quite see. The expression means "the people who hiss," a name which was probably given them by some other Bantu tribe, on account of the large amount of sh and other sibilants in the Shuna language, a factor which certainly distinguishes Shuna from other Bantu languages.

Shuna.		Assyrian.			
4. msimba	=power.	sibu	=to grasp firmly.		
5. bisu	=to produce.		e=to be. ve, "to produce.")		
6. zwara	=to propagate	zaru	=to propagate.		
7. roba	=to punish.	ra'abu	=to be angry.		
8. idanga	=a cattle kraal.		=a bed (really ce to rest in ").		
9. shinga	=to labour.	sakanu .	=to work, make.		
10. bona = to look.   baru = to see.  (N.B.—Semitic r generally changes in Bantu into n, as more Bantu languages have not the true r:)					
	= to be mad.		=to be mad?*		
12. igona		kannu	=plank ?†		
13. igondoro	=goatram.	gadu	=ram.		
14. nzhira = road. girru = road.  (The Assyrian guttural is here softened in Shuna into a sibilant, a common occurrence.)					
15. berenga (Tebele ba	=to read.	beru baru	=sight. =to see.*		
16. pira	=to sacrifice.	pirketi =	a kind of sacrifice.		
17. ishangu		senu			
*Delitzsch gives in his Assyrian " Handwörterbuch." p. 532, the word pinga					

\*Delitzsch gives in his Assyrian "Handwörterbuch." p. 532, the word pinga without the translation, but it seems to me from the context of IV. R. 8, that the translation "to be mad," would fit in very well. If this be correct, we have here an instance of the Shuna language enabling us to find the meaning of an Assyrian word, and I believe we might meet with more cases of a similar nature.

†Delitzsch does not translate this word, but the meaning "plank" would seem to fit in, though in one extract quoted by him it might have the related meaning of "sheet (of iron)." The Sumerian is-gan-sa-kak would certainly support the translation "plank." Compare is-gu-surgasuru—beam (Japanese

kosen = "beam," Sirjenian gozna = beam).

\*These words, which, as far as I am aware, are not found in any other Bantu language, must be very old, as the later Bantu lost the art of reading probably soon after his arrival in Africa. But in Sumir and Babylonia nearly every one could read, as we know from Hilprechts "Explorations in Biblelands." For this reason I venture to connect the Bantu words with the Assyrian best and baru. I may state that it seems to me that even in some Assyrian texts baru may have the meaning of "to read." The ideas of "seeing" and "reading" are nearly related, and we often find mention made of inscriptions placed in such a manner "that the people could see them" (i.e., "read them").

18. gu-ipa  $=\sin$ . egu =to  $\sin$ . 19. dakwane =small. dakku =small. 20. nzimbha = tsetse fly. zumbu =: flv. 21. imanda =anger. mammu =anger. 22. dabira =to answer. gabru =to answer. (N.B.—The change from g to d is certainly very remarkable in this case.) 23. musana = back. sern =back. =to be. basu =to be. 24. ba =to be beautiful. | nasku = to be beautiful. 25. naku 26. ishiri = bird. ishshuru = bird 27. kondamu = to bow. kadadu =to bow. =border. 28. mpeto patu =border. 29. mñwana (pl. bana) = child. banu =child. (N.B.—The Shuna singular is a contraction of mun-wana, where the w is the regular representative of the b.) =to come. ba'u 30. buya = to come after. tibu = to come after. 31. tebera 32. idama =a command. adu =a command. 33. shandura = to change. shanu =to change. =to destroy. balu = to destroy. 34. buraya 35. zwimba =to desire. shabu = to desire. =descendant. 36. buruka =to descend. burn 37. imauri =a deaf man. amiru = deaf. 38. sweta =to draw. = to draw. shatu 39. simiga =to fix. samu = to fix. = to flow. gararu = to flow. 40. erera

(The initial g has dropped in Bantu, and the Shuna has really reverted to the older Indian form, as is clear from the

Dravidian aru = river).

41. paradziga = to fly (of sparks).	parashu = to fly.
42. nganu = garden boun- [dary.	gannatu = garden boundary.
43. ishaba = eland.	shabitu =gazelle.
44. teberana =to go, in Indian file.	tibu = to go.
45. bimba = to be happy.	bennu = happiness.
46. tjera = to make a hole.	churru = hole.
47. shaba = to hunt.	shadu =to hunt.
48. pfiga =to lock.	pichu · =to lock.
49. sungira = to lock.	shigaru = to lock.
50. da = to love.	dadu = love (n).
51. paradzanu=to part.	parasu = to part.
52. shaya = to want.	shugu = want (n).
53. sura = to break wind	saru = wind.
54. idzese = wood.	issu = wood.
55. mu-ali = god.	ilu =god.

(Perhaps this is one of the strongest proofs concerning the relationship of Shuna and Assyrian. If the word was the only Semitic word in the first-named language, one might feel inclined to ascribe it to Arabic influence, but in this case this can scarcely be done, even admitting that, at a certain time in their history, the Mashonas came into close contact with the Arabians, which is highly probable. But except in a few tribes who have turned Mahomedan, the word Allah, for God, is nowhere found in Bantu dialects, and even Suaheli, which shows very marked influences of Arabic in its vocabulary, has retained the word Muunti for the Deity. Under such circumstances, and taking into consideration the other evidences regarding the relation of the two languages, I am convinced that Mu-ali must be referred to Assyrian origin).

56. Shuna she = ruler.

Assyrian sha=lord, master.

Delitzsch is of opinion that the Assyrian word is really an adaptation of the third personal pronoun=he, but I am not so sure of this, and both words might be referred to Semang edjah=chief, the Assyrian having adopted the word from the Sumerian. But in any case the Shuna seems to be the only Bantu language which has taken the word over, unless Dualla sanga="father, master," must be referred to the same root, which is very doubtful.

# 57. Shuna msajuri = copper. Assyrian siparru = copper.

The Shuna form is here really the older, and the history of the word is so remarkable and interesting that I shall give here a short account of it. The original word for "copper" was chu-phar, a Turanian word, meaning "beyond the sea," or "from the other side of the sea," from Turanian chu = water, sea, and phar = beyond. This name was probably given to it by the Turanian tribes of Western Asia, because they obtained their copper from India across the sea. The Sumerians called it ud-ka-bar, i.e., "the metal from beyond the sea," ka-bar being the equivalent of the original chu-phar, with this difference that in ancient Turanian the ch was soft, and the word was pronounced su-p-har, the ph being a real aspirated p. this way two words for copper arose, one with the soft ch and the other with the hard ch or k. The Semites followed the soft pronunciation, and hence we have in Assyrian siparru, in Arabian astar (brass), etc.; and this pronunciation was carried over by the Sumero-Babylonians to the Bantu, when the language of the former had already absorbed considerable Semitic elements.

But the ancient Sumerians (before coming into contact with the Semites) went over to the island of Cyprus, under the leadership of their great conqueror, Sargon I., who ruled about 3700 B.C. In all probability they formed a settlement on the island, a fact which is patent from the old Sumerian and Babylonian cylinders and seals found on that island. They found rich copper mines on the island, and called it habar or hu-par, and hence the Greeks, when they became acquainted with the island, called it hupross, whence our name "copper" for the metal in question. So it happens that to-day we call it "copper" and the Shuna call it msafura, a slightly changed form of sipparu, and up till now there probably was neither an Englishman nor a Mashona who was aware that in reality they are using the same word under different aspects of phonology.

To prove how correct this explanation is I may point to Arabian *nuhas* and Hebrew *nehast*, both meaning "copper." Both these words are derived from the Indian *Nagas*, the name of the people who brought the copper from India to Western Asia, and who, as I shall show, were the ancient Ugro-Altaic

traders, who lived near the mouth of the Indus. This is shown by the Ethiopian nahas = copper, and as in that language g and h interchange, there is every probability that the old word for copper was nagas.

There may be some people who are sure to stamp this kind of thing *Philological Romance*, but these should not forget

that often "facts are stranger than fiction."

Some of the ancient Assyrian words were taken over in Bantu with metathesis of syllables. So:

Shuna.

Assyrian.

tjero=ghost. tizha=to run away. ma-kusero=skin scrapings. di-muga=to be sorry. ru-chu=ghost. satu=to run away. karasu=to skin. agamu=to be sorry.

There is, besides this apparently direct connection between many words in Shuna and Assyrian, a good deal more evidence of Assyrian influence upon Bantu, especially in that branch of Bantu which we call the Bechuana. For instance, there was a chief among the Barolong called Tau = the lion, and we have also the tribe of the Ba-taung (=the people of the place of the lion). But Tau is nothing else but the Assyrian tau = to eat, and we have thus here the lion called "the eater," a name he also had in Semitic, as is clear from Judges 15: 14. "Out of the eater (i.e., the lion) came forth meat." (See Fürst, Hebrew Dictionary, sub voce akal=to eat.)

So the name of the South African supposed desert known to us as the *Kalihari*, is nothing else but the somewhat changed compound of Assyrian kalu= "all," and harbu (Sumerian aria) = "desert," and may thus suitably be translated as "great desert."

In the other Southern Bantu tribes there are undoubtedly several words connected with Assyrian. Zulu baba=to burn, seems to agree with Assyrian kababu=to burn, and Zulu zi=kraal, with Assyrian zirru=fence. But there are two words in Southern Bantu which are without the slightest doubt of

Sumerian and Assyrian origin.

The first is unkulukulu, the name given by the Zulus and Kafirs to a being, which was apparently a high deity, but of which the Bantu have not any more a clear conception. Bishop Callaway has in vain tried to get at the bottom of this matter, but he could not get further than the idea of "the great-greatone," or "the old-old one," which the Bantu themselves at present possess of this mysterious being, and who they even believe to have been a man once upon a time. Authorities like Callaway and Max Müller have therefore come to the conclusion that we have here to do with a case of "ancestorworship." But if the Zulu were able to remember his ancestral

home, he would have no difficulty in connecting *Unkulukulu* with the old Sumerian *An-gal-gal*, the Great God of Heaven, with which it agrees letter for letter. *Gal* in Sumerian means "great," and is exactly the same word as Zulu *kulu*, which in some of the Bantu dialects, *e.g.*, Secwana is *golo*. The repetition merely gives emphasis to the adjective. *An* in Sumerian meant "the God of Heaven," and in Zulu would become *un*, the *u* being, so to say, the "leading vowel" in Southern Bantu and often taking the place of an original *a*. By such a very simple process of Comparative Philology we are able to settle a matter which has considerably troubled missionaries as well as Bantu scholars, including the great Dr. Bleek himself.

The second word I wish to refer to here, is the well-known ama-pakati. In Zulu and Kafir this word denotes the councillors of the chief, and the word is generally explained as meaning the "middle-men," from the adverb pakati = middle. These ama-pakati are, in a certain sense, the sub-chiefs of the districts in which they reside, and there represent the great chief. It is their duty to watch over the behaviour of the people, and to hear minor cases; to collect the fines imposed upon evildoers; and they are also responsible for the due payments of the "presents," to which the tribal chief is entitled, and as these "presents" are really a mere euphonism for "taxes" they may be said to be the chief tax-collectors.

In Assyrian, pahatu (pachatu) meant a district or division of the kingdom, and the governors or satraps who ruled these divisions in the name of the king were called the Amel-pachati, which is, letter for letter, the same as the Bantu ama-pakati.\* Delitzsch derives this word from the verb pichu, which means "to impose taxes, to rule," and this is probably correct. It is therefore likely that the adverb pakati = middle, is derived from the noun, and not vice-versa, and this is more probable, because in Bantu most adverbial expressions are really special forms of nouns.

Considering therefore the presence of a distinct Assyrian, or rather Babylonian element in several Bantu dialects, we are entitled to come to the conclusion that the Sumerian-Babylonian influence on Bantu must have proceeded directly from the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, and that by means of an immigration from that part of Asia.†

<sup>\*</sup>There exists in Assyrian a parallel form with k, viz., pakadu, with a primary meaning "to protect," and a secondary meaning of "to rule, to govern."

<sup>†</sup>I am using the phrase "the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates" purposely, because in ancient times the two rivers had their separate embouchures, and did not join, at as present, in the Schatt-el-Arab. The waters of the Persian Gulf are constantly receding and it has been calculated that in 6,000 years the land at the mouth of these rivers has gained more than 150 miles upon the sea.

## SECTION VIII.

We shall now consider some other evidences regarding the Origin of the Bantu, for, as has been said "the relations between races of mankind cannot be determined by philology alone." This is a truism which anthropologists are continually impressing upon philologists, and in a measure they are correct in doing so. Anthropology, however, would no doubt attempt to settle the question by the shape, capacity, etc., of the skull, a question I am not going to enter upon, because I know too little upon the subject. But it is to be hoped that some competent authority will soon take this matter up, upon the lines suggested by me in a former part of this essay.

Comparative religion is another science which demands attention, when we wish to inquire into the origin of races, and it is undoubtedly of immense importance. Unfortunately the Bantu's religious ideas seem rather vague. We have already mentioned that Bishop Callaway's attempts to get at the core of the Zulu's idea of a God, met with but scant success, and attempts made by other missionaries among various Bantu tribes have not given much better results.

It has often been said that the Bantu have "Ancestorworship," but I doubt whether this is correct in the main. That he worships the ancestors of his chiefs, or rather the "spirits" of departed chiefs, is undoubtedly true, but I question whether a Zulu or Kosa would worship the spirit of his great-grandfather. It is true that when a certain snake enters a hut, he is left in possession and not harmed in any manner, because it may contain the "spirit" of So-and-So, probably one who lived formerly on or near the spot where the hut stands. But, as I am not aware that the "spirits" are ever considered to be embodied in any other animal than snakes,\* I am inclined to call this Serpent-worship. This certainly would agree with the Indian origin of the Bantu, a matter I shall refer to somewhat later.

The various Bantu names for "God" are very dangerous to use, except in certain clear instances. In some dictionaries the Bantu word for God looks suspiciously like a word coined for the purposes of religion and Bible-translation by the missionaries. Such is, for instance, the Luganda word Katonda, which means "the Creator," from the verb tonda = to make, to create." But some Bantu words for the idea God are certainly capable of explanation. The Secwana Modimo, for instance, reminds us strongly of the Assyrian Dimmeru, in Sumerian

<sup>\*</sup>The case of the Siboko, or animal worshipped or "danced" to so common among the Bechuana tribes, does not apply here, as this is evidently a relic of ancient Tribal or family Totemism, which has in reality nothing to do with religion.

An-ki-a, the God of Heaven and Earth. Mulungu, the Mang'-anja expression, is most probably connected with the old Bantu langa = high, with which the Zulu ilanga = sun, is also connected. I at first, indeed, felt inclined to consider the word as a "personification" of the Sun, but came back from it, through the fact that, as far as I am aware, there is no trace of Sun-worship in any Bantu tribe, and the name for the Sun in most Bantu tribes seems to be connected with an old Turanian root ju or shu, meaning "warm." In Oruhima it is izuba, in Suaheli jua, in Herero e-yuva, in Secwana tsatsi; in Mang'anja dzuwa, in Luganda juba, etc.

Among all Bantu tribes we find a great respect for "spirits," which are generally inimical to mankind, and this form of belief, with all its attendant institutions, such as medicine-men and witch doctors, is still found in the Sakai of Malacca. It is in reality the same as that *Shamanism* found all over Asia, in places not touched by Brahmaism, Mahomedanism, or Christianity. It was the old *Bon* religion of Tibet, and it still plays a not unimportant part in Northern Buddhism or Lamaism.\*

Among a large number of Bantu tribes the "Spirits under the Water," called in Zulu and Kafir the *Izizi*, play an important part. There can be no doubt but this is a very old Ugro-Altaic belief. Among the ancient Sumerians the great God is *Hea*, "the God of the Sea," who may, perhaps, be the same as the much-revered *Ahti* of the Finns. Indeed, among the Finns the water-deities and water-spirits play a very important part, and their *Wesi-Husi*, by which they denote the "evil spirits of the waters," are not only etymologically connected with the Zulu *Izizi*, but bear also the same character. The Southern Bantu's idea seems to be that these *Izizi* are really evil spirits, and that is proved by the fact that sacrifices of an ox are made to them, in cases of drowning, to induce them to release the person taken by them. (See the well-known tale of the girl, given by Dr. Theal in his "Kafir-Folklore.")

The Comparative Folklore of the Sakai, Semang, Indian tribes and Bantu cannot be treated herein, as little as a comparison of the social customs. Each of these subjects contains enough material to write a large-sized book on, and cannot be discussed within the limits of this essay. But it is necessary to mention here certain facts of historical nature.

In the first volume of his edition of Herodotus, p. 650, Rawlinson states that in ancient times a Cushite or Ethiopian race extended itself along the shores of the Southern Ocean from Abyssinia to India. It started from the Indus along the seacoast through Beluchistan and Kerman, which latter (as Rawlinson thinks) were the true countries of the Asiatic Ethiopians.

<sup>\*</sup>The Semang, on the other hand, adore a Thunder-God (Kari), and of this religion there seem to be considerable traces among the Hottentot as well as among several Bantu tribes.

That the Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus did not start there, but in the Peninsula of Malacca, or in some country south of it, I have tried to show, and I have also attempted to show that the Semang and after them the Sakai moved to India. There is, as Caldwell has shown, proof that the present Dravidian races (which are nearest the Sakai and may have been caused by a fusion of Jakun and Sakai) lived in ancient times in Northern India, when Southern India was inhabited by what is called a Kolarian race, but which was probably a Semang race, and by an old diminutive race of which the Veddahs of Ceylon are the remains.

But Semang and Sakai mixed, and perhaps both even mixed with the Jakun, and a new race arose. What that race called itself we do not know, but when the Aryan entered India he called these people the Nagas, or the Snakes. How this name arose is very difficult to tell. It may be that this race had developed a Serpent-worship, the traces of which are still found among several aboriginal tribes of the Malayan Peninsula. It may be that these people called themselves with some word resembling Naga, and which the Aryans took over and made Naga of, because these people proved their worst enemies.\*

The Tibetans called these people the Klu (pronounced lu), and this probably because the Nagas, with whom they were acquainted, were living along the shores of the Indus and its tributaries, for the Klu (as well as the Naga) were supposed to live in the rivers, and in Tibetan klun is a "river or stream."

At the time of the invasion of India the Nagas seem to have principally lived along the Indus, and at the mouth of this river. The researches of Sir Thomas Holdrich and of Surgeon-Major C. F. Oldham (see his "The Sun and the Serpent," London, 1904) have shown that in very early times the race in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Indus was not only highly civilised, but that it was a great sea-faring race, which founded several colonies on the West Coast of India, even as far as Malabar and Ceylon. Cunningham (quoted in Sir H. M. Elliot's "Races of the North-Western Provinces of India," vol. I., p. 113) connects these Nagas with the Takkas in the Punjaub, and thus places them between the Jhelum and the Indus, and Beames (who edited Elliot's work) places them even as far north as Kashmir.

<sup>\*</sup>That seems to be the opinion of Lefmann in his "Geschichte des alten Indiens," page 366 (Berlin, 1890). In Annamese or Mon, which, as already said, is very nearly related to Semang, ngu'o'i is man, and the Nagas may have, as several nations have done, simply called themselves men. Naga in the meaning of "snake" is certainly not Aryan in origin, but is found in Siamese, and in certain non-Aryan languages in India. The true Aryan for snake is Sarpa.

<sup>†</sup>The name klun is still that of one of the non-Aryan tribes of India, and in Burmese, Sak and other languages, lu (which is the modern form of klu, and agrees with the pronunciation of the Tibetan word) means man. In Sumerian too lu means man, and the compound a-za-lu-lu is used in the sense of mankind.

There are certain expressions in Tibetan regarding these Nagas or Lu, which strongly seem to bear out Cunningham's and Beames' ideas. The Tibetans consider the Lu as a kind of demigods, having human heads and the body of a serpent.\* They were believed to be the guardians of great treasures underground, a myth which clearly refers to their being merchants and traders, who brought treasures from the low country to the high plateau of Tibet. This is, in my opinion, clearly proved by an old Tibetan Festival, called the Lu-theb, which is defined as "the coming upwards of the Lu from their retreats in summer," while another expression Lu-dog, means "the retiring of the Lu to their abodes in the nether regions," and this was fixed at the beginning of winter. Now this clearly applies to the traders along the banks of the Indus, who each summer (the only time when the high mountain passes could be crossed) went to Ladakh and neighbouring countries with their wares, and returned home before the winter had covered the passes with snow.

The name or syllable lu appears in the designations of a large number of nations and places in Western Asia, and in my opinion this proves how far this race, i.e., the Ugro-Altaic race, once spread. In the Bible we find the Ludi as the name for a race in Asia Minor, where we also have the Graecisized forms of Lydia and Lykia. †

We further have the district of Luristan, in Persia, which means really "the dwelling of the mountain Lu," ri being a common Turanian name for 'mountain.'"

This brings us to the word Luganda in Africa. U-ganda is the name of the country at present; the people are called Bagunda (singular Mogunda), and the language is called But the prefix lu, as the prefix for a language in Luganda. Bantu, is absolutely unknown, and in accordance with Bantu etymology, the language should be called Siganda or Seganda. Under such circumstances I am convinced that we have to do here with a confusion of ideas and expressions, of which there are many other examples in the Bantu dialects. I am of opinion that the original name of the country was Luganda. If so, the etymology of the word is perfectly clear, viz., from Lu (the name of the old Nagas) and gan, the very common word in Turanian and Altaic for "garden," but also meaning

†Both Lydia and Lykia can easily be explained. Lydia was Lu-de = the Lu-community from Tibetan (Turanian) de = race, tribe, community. Lykia would be a compound of Lu and the Sumerian (i.e., Ugro-Altaic) ki = land, and thus mean the "land of the Lu."

<sup>\*</sup>Actual representations of such Nagas are found in Indian sculpture. it not possible that the Nagas, sailing as they did in boats and ships (which glided over the water as a serpent on the land) were therefore represented with bodies of a serpent? In the Sumerian story of Oannes, who came to the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates in a ship, we find the same connection of the head of a man and the body of a fish.

"land." In Sumerian gan is "a field," and gana is "a garden." The word is, on that account, also found in Semitic. Thus Gan-Edin, the garden of Paradise, really means "the Garden in the Plain," Assyrian Gan-Edinnu In the Luganda language we find the same root (with k = g) in eki-kan-de, which means "a deserted garden."

There is another word of importance in the Luganda language in connection with this matter, and that is *olulimi* = language. This is evidently a combination of o (the article) lu = people (the Lu) and emc = voice. (Compare Mongolian ama, and in other Altaic languages imi = voice.) The second l is merely

euphonic, in accordance with a false concord.\*

Now it is an undoubted fact that in Luganda we have a very old Bantu language, which has clearer affinities with the Manchu branch of Ugro-Altaic than probably any other known Bantu dialect. It is also a fact, proved by the traditions of several Bantu tribes, that the regions near Lake Victoria Nyanza was the ancient and central home of the Bantu.

But how did the first Bantu get there? This is a question which at present it is very difficult to answer, but after having taken all facts into consideration, I am inclined to think that the Bantu came to Africa by sea and not overland. The Hottentot may have come to Africa as a Semang overland, and he was probably followed by Sakai tribes who became the ancestors of the Gallas, Somali and other Hamitic tribes of North Africa. But the earliest Bantu must have come much later. At all events it certainly is remarkable that on the Egyptian monuments of early date we find no picture of a Bantu, nor do we find any description of Bantu tribes.†

In the second volume of his Herodotus, Rawlinson mentions an invasion into Africa of Asiatic Ethiopians about the year 1300 B.C. Unfortunately I have not been able to trace his authority, but upon the supposition that with Asiatic Ethiopia he means the country which the Greeks called *Gedrosia* and we *Beluchistan* (which is clearly the Eastern Æthiopia of Herodotus), I am inclined to believe that we have here a trace of the

first Bantu invasion.

It is fairly certain that after the conquest of the northern part of India by the Aryans, that part of the population which we have denoted as *Klu* or *Nagas* was dispersed. A section of them sought refuge in the jungle regions, now known as *Nagpur*, a hilly and nearly inaccessible region, where even today we find a number of tribes which bear the name of *Nagas*,

\*It is remarkable that the Luganda name for a "gardener" contains apparently the same root, as it also is omu-limi. But here the limi is quite another word, and is related to the Zulu lima = to cultivate, a word that is found in a

number of Bantu dialects.

<sup>†</sup>Dr. G. M. Theal, however, has informed me that in the British Museum he has seen some relief work, which clearly represents Bantu men and women. As, however, he does not know from what period the representation dated, this leaves the matter as far as it was.

and whose languages bear marked relations to the Bantu dialects. Others sought refuge in the hills south of the Himalaya, from Nepaul to Assam. Again others, and probably those who were living in the Indus valley, crossed the mountains to the west and settled in Beluchistan, where a part of them continued their seafaring life, and another part became nomadic cattle-farmers. These were the ancestors of the present Brahui, whose name is probably derived from the old Turanian (Tibetan) ba-hjo = herdsman, with the often inserted r. In Tibetan ba-glan-spyod is the name of a country, west of India, so-called because cows feed on the land, and form the main wealth of the inhabitants. This I take to mean the northern portion of Beluchistan.

The Brahui language is considered by competent authorities as belonging to the Dravidian language group, but it certainly has many Ugro-Altaic expressions in it. So has the Baluchi language, and so has Sindhi, the language spoken along the lower course of the Indus. Sindhi has, like Baluchi, a strong Aryan element, and the former language is rightly considered as belonging to the Aryan group, though it certainly contains elements which are non-Aryan. In ancient times the number of these non-Aryan elements was undoubtedly larger than at present. Now it certainly is remarkable that several old Bantu words find their equivalents in these three languages, as

the following examples will show:-

(1) Bantu ngombe, the general name for the ox, is a pure non-Aryan word, found in Khamti and Laos respectively as ngo and ngoa, and in Kuswar, Pakhya, Dadhi and Denwar as

gai. In Sindhi it is guan.\*

(2) Luganda (one of the oldest of the Bantu languages) has for "bullock" endawo. Oshikuanjama and Suaheli have for male animals ndume. In Sindhi we find the related dana = bullock.

(3) Mashona gara = to inhabit, clearly agrees with Sindhi ghar = a house, which is found in several of the non-Aryan languages of India. Dadhi and Denwar have ghar; Kuswar has ghara.

(4) Mashona bhati = plank, which appears in Kongo as ebaya and ebandu, and in Luganda in olu-bawo is clearly the Sindhi

patt = plank.

(5) The Zulu-Kafir *amasi* = sour milk is clearly the Baluchi mass = curd butter, or better, milk mixed with buttermilk.

(6) In Brahui the name for *Sorghum vulgare*, our "kafircorn," is *juar*, and this name is fairly common throughout India for the plant. Does not this agree with *juala*, the Zulu-Kafir name of the beer, made specially from kafir-corn?

<sup>\*</sup>Although at present found in India in several non-Aryan languages, it is not unlikely that the root go (gom or gor) has been loaned from the Aryans, who probably introduced the domesticated ox into India.

(7) Mashona run-zhi = a needle (where run is a prefix) is connected with Sindhi sui = a needle. In Permian si is "thread," and the Finnish sui has the same meaning. We have thus here the very same substitution which we find in some of the Bantu dialects. So Zulu has usungulu for needle, while Kafir has usinga for thread.

Many more examples might be given. So *Pushtu*, or the language of the Afghans, which contains many old Ugro-Altaic words among its mixed vocabulary, has *khaza* for wo-

man, which agrees with the Bantu well-known kazi.

On these grounds I feel inclined to believe that the first invasion of Bantu in Africa came from some country near the mouth of the Indus, or a little to the west of it, and this would agree with the account given by Rawlinson. These probably landed in the present Somali-land (the ancient *Punt*) and driving the old Hottentot population before them, made their way to the neighbourhood of Lake Victoria Nyanza, where a portion of them settled, while another portion straightway worked their way to the west, where they became the ancestors of the Dualla, Mpongwe and other Bantu tribes of West Africa.

Naturally this is a *theory*, and such, I am afraid, it must always remain; but at all events it is a theory with *some* evidence at the back of it, and as such it has a right to existence and to be carefully considered.

Of the second invasion of Bantu in South Africa we have, however, more historical and trustworthy data. I have already shown that on account of the ancient Babylonian and Sumerian elements in some of the Bantu dialects, this invasion must have come from the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates.

At the mouths of these rivers many of the old Sumerians had taken refuge, and their number had undoubtedly been strengthened by many Semites, who for some reason or other had considered it advisable to leave their original habitations. Nominally subject, these "Men of the Sea Coasts" were in reality independent of Babylonia, though there never seemed to be any trouble between them and the authorities. Matters changed, however, when, about the year 900 B.C., Babylonia became a dependency of Assyria, and the socalled King of Babylonia was really an Assyrian vassal. Many Babylonians, dissatisfied with the new regime, must have gone to the Coast, and strengthened the independent community which gradually was formed there. This community at last became so strong, that it became an eminent source of danger to the Assyrian Empire, and it would seem that the Kings of Assyria began taking steps to stop the continual increase of power of the "Men of the Sea Coast." The latter, thereupon, rose in open rebellion about 720 B.C. and found a capable and daring leader in Merodach-Baladan, the same person mentioned

in II. Kings, 20. For some time the rebels had it all their own way, because the attention of the Assyrian King was drawn to other, more important, matters. They conquered Babylon and seemed to have penetrated to the very borders of Assyria Then, however, Assyria determined to subdue the foe. For a considerable time a keen struggle went on between Merodach-Baladan and his sons on the one side, and the Kings of Assyria on the other. But though the Men of the Sea Coasts were assisted by the Elamites and the tribes west of the mouth of the Tigris, the power of Assyria at length prevailed. rebels were completely vanquished; a huge slaughter took place, and those who did not fall by the sword left the country and sought refuge in the islands of the Persian Gulf. But Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria, equipped a large fleet and, attacking the rebels in the islands, succeeded in driving them even out of this refuge.

It is more than likely that the men who were thus driven out of their country, were aware that in or near Somaliland, on the neighbouring coast of Africa, there were living races who were nearly related to them. The Men of the Sea Coast were great mariners and traders, and if we remember that the great centre of trade in those days was the island of Socotra, it certainly is not surmising too much, if we believe that the Sumerians knew who lived in the country opposite Socotra. For that reason I believe that these fugitives, of whom nothing more is heard in Assyrian history, found a haven in Somaliland, and proceeded to join the Bantu tribes near the lakes. Assyrian chronicles place the flight of the Men of the Sea Coast in 680 B.C., so that this may also be considered the date when this second Bantu invasion of Africa took place.

It would seem that in the majority of cases the two elements coalesced, and this need not astonish us. The Sumerians originally came from the mouth of the Indus, as is clear from the Babylonian legend of the Deluge and the story of Gilgamesh, and hence there must have been a time when their forefathers and the forefathers of the first Bantu invaders were living together. The fact that there always has been, since the very earliest times of history, a considerable trade between the mouths of the Indus and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, must have kept old tribal traditions alive, which would otherwise have sunk in oblivion.

It may be easily understood that the remnant of the Men of the Sea Coast which reached Africa, was but a poor remainder of the once powerful community. Their leaders, their priests, and their influential men had all fallen by the sword, and those who ultimately survived, must have belonged to what we might style "the lower classes of society." Hence the fact that nothing of the old Babylonian or Sumerian civilisation came over to Africa. Once in a strange country, shut out from their old

home, the sea, the newcomers completely changed the tenor of their life, and became agriculturists and cattle-raisers, like the first Bantu had become. Gradually the distinction between the two elements wore away. But not altogether. The Babylonian element was strong and died hard, and the old Semitic linguistic factor was never altogether eliminated. It is impossible to-day, indeed, to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the various Bantu tribes, nor can we exactly tell which tribes came from the first invaders, and which tribes trace their origin to the later invasion. But, as a general rule, we may lay down that in those tribes, in whose language we find but single traces of Semitic (e.g., in Dualla, Mpongwe, Isubu, Luganda and Herero), we may see the descendants of the first Bantu invaders of Africa. But where, like in most of the Bakwena languages, and especially in the language of the Mashona, we find a very strong Semitic (not Arabian) element, we may fairly conclude that the origin of those tribes can be traced to the later invasion. But it should never be lost from view, that the Bantu has become a very mixed nation, and that at present we have but the excrudescences of the original elements, and not these elements themselves.

## SECTION IX.

Those of my readers who are acquainted with the peculiarities of the Bantu languages may perhaps say that the foregoing paragraphs are all very nice and true, but that they do not throw any light upon two very important matters, namely, the *Prefixes of the Bantu languages* and the *Concord of the Bantu sentence*.

I readily admit that these questions are of the highest importance, and that, unless I can give a satisfactory solution of them, my foregoing theories will not carry much weight. For that reason I shall discuss these questions here, even at the risk of making this essay considerably longer than I origin-

ally intended.

I am quite aware that my solutions of these problems run completely counter to the at present generally accepted theories of Bantu philology, but that is not my fault. Bleek, Kolbe and, in fact, all other Bantu scholars seem to have considered that the *prefixes* were the peculiar and characteristic stamp of the Bantu languages, that they originated within Bantu itself, and that, indeed, Bantu had a philology peculiarly its own, widely differing from that of the other language groups. Hence they originated a system of *classifiers*, and to every singular *prefix* a plural *prefix* was assigned. At first sight it would seem that the spirit of the Bantu languages is really

in accord with the principles thus laid down. So in Kafir the m or first-class nouns form their plural in ba, and the m or second-class nouns form their plural in mi. Various attempts have been made to show that words signifying a certain class of objects, are compelled by linguistic laws to have a special prefix, and Bleek as well as Kolbe have displayed a great deal of original acumen and ingenuity in attempting to show what the form of these classifying prefixes were. It is very doubtful in how far these attempts have been successful, and, personally, I feel compelled to state that these attempts have done more to complicate Bantu than anything else, while they have tended to place Bantu philology upon an absolutely false basis. For the idea up till now entertained that Bantu has a system of philology peculiarly its own, is beside the mark: if it were it would, from a scientific point of view, imply that the Bantu race, as a collection of human beings, had an evolution of its own, independent from and unconnected with other human races. In other words, there must, then, once have existed a specific anthropoid ape, from which the Bantu race evolved. There is nothing which entitles us to such a supposition, and every bit of true Bantu philology pleads against that view, for all the general rules of philology, and all the principles of phonology, which apply to other Turanian languages are also applicable to the Bantu languages.\*

The real facts are these:

The oldest languages of the world made use of a system of prefixes, infixes and suffixes. This has, in the case of the Mon-Khmer language (which is one of the parent languages of Bantu, and probably represents the Semang in its purest form), been shown by Schmidt, as quoted by Skeat and Blagden (in their aforementioned work, vol. II., p. 447). Thus in Khmer we have:

kat = to cut
khnat = measure
kunat = piece
thkat = pain
tamkat = suffering
skat = to cut off
sangkat = division
pangkat = to divide

where we find that by the addition of various prefixes and infixes different meanings are given to the root kat.

<sup>\*</sup>This naturally implies that I do not accept the so-called pronominal theory in Bantu. Indeed, I consider the idea that the prefixes were derived from the pronouns, to be historically impossible. Pronouns are late developments in the history of language, and are generally shortened forms of original personal nouns. That some original prefixes were afterwards used as pronouns, is an assertion I could agree to; the reverse supposition I cannot subscribe to. Prefixes and determinatives belong to the oldest forms of languages.

In Semang and Sakai we find a similar system, though the matter does not seem to be thoroughly investigated. (See Skeat and Blagden, op. cit., II., p. 774.) We have in Semang apparently a number of prefixes, such as ke, pe, ta, ba, etc., and in Sakai also a number such as he, che, ke, te, etc. In how far these are classifiers is a matter which has not yet been examined, but in Annamese, which is a pure Mon language, there exist a large number of classifiers, such as banh (for round things), bo (for things which form a "totality"), cay (for trees, plants, and things made of wood), mieng (for soft things), so'i (for ropes, threads, etc.), dam (for plantations and gardens), etc.

When the Semang and the Sakai went to India many of the dialects seem to have lost this peculiar power of formation, and to have adopted rather a system of affixes. Yet, some of these prefixes can be traced in a few languages, and especially in the Naga languages. So in Angami Naga we find tefüh = a dog; where te is a prefix, which is dropped the moment the word is compounded with another, f.i. fühpfö = a male dog; tuhkru = a bitch. In mithu = cow, mi is a prefix; in thenu = goat, the is a prefix. In Ao Naga, ta is a common prefix in adjectives, and ku and mang are verbal prefixes, etc. Several instances could be drawn from other non-Aryan languages of India to show that this prefix and classifier-system formerly held sway in them, but has been lost. Thus:

Chepang yuk =" monkey" is Brahmu pa-yuk. So the root pe=to speak, is in Kami ta-pe, while "to be silent" is in Brahmu ma-pe, where ma is the prefixed negation. Khamti wan=sun becomes in Laos kang-wan. So the root ni=day or "sun" becomes in Bodo di-ni, in Kumi ka-ni, in Singpho si-ni, in Lepeha sak-ni, in Kami ma-ni; the root chu=water

is in Gyarung ti-chi, and so on.

In the Tibetan language we evidently had originally a complete system of *prefixes* or *classifiers*, which have now worn down to the so-called *prefix-letters* which, though written, are not pronounced any more, and have nearly all been lost in

Lebcha, which is nearly related to Tibetan.

It would seem, thus, that in the Ugro-Altaic languages there arose a tendency to get rid of the *prefixes*, and to use *affixes* instead, and this naturally did away with the principle of classifiers. In Japanese we find, however, a trace of the prefix-principle, in the fact that the plural of several words is still formed by prefixing some noun or expression of multitude, a system which is regularly followed still in Annamese, and of which examples will be given later.

It is a remarkable fact that some of the *prefixes* in Bantu are used in some of the other Ugro-Altaic languages as *affixes*. Thus the prefix *ku* (or *uku*) which in most Bantu languages is the prefix of the *infinitive* of the verb (or, to be more correct, the *noun-form* of the verb) is found in Mongolian and related

languages, as an affix with the same meaning. In Mongolian it is known as the infinitive noun ending. So ire-ku is "the coming"; ja-bu-chu (chu=ku) is "the going." Turki has the same affix ku or gu, though in most cases the initial consonant is dropped. In Jakutish we have kor=to see, and kor-u (for original kor-ku) for "the seeing, sight."

So we have in several Bantu languages a prefix lu, which often forms nouns from verbal roots. In Mongolian the affix l has the same effect, and a strengthened form lik in Turki is

the same.

It may seem to be rather peculiar to maintain that, within the limits of one group of language, there should be a change from prefixes to affixes. And yet the phenomenon is really a very common one among three very nearly related languages, of the Aryan group, viz., German, Dutch and English, languages so nearly related, that they might be called Teutonic dialects. Yet it is a very easy matter to show that, what are prefixes in Dutch and German, are affixes in English, and no less easy is it to show that the prefixes are older.

(a) In Dutch and German we have a prefix be, which has been nearly\* completely lost in English, and the place of which in English is taken by a preposition after the verb, which from a true philological point of view is really an after

a true philological point of view is really an affix.

	Dutch	be-loopen	is	English	to	walk over.						
	,,	be-leggen	,,	,,,	to	place in.						
	,,	be-vliegen	,,	,,	to	fly at.						
	German	be-sprechen	3 3	23	to	talk over.						
						or about.						
	22,	be-dauern	22	,,	to	be sorry about.						
	23	be-denken	22	23	to	think over.						
(b)	German	aus-gehen	is	English	to	go out.						
	,,	aus-suchen	9.9	23.	to	seek out.						
	,,	aus-blasen	22	33	to	blow out.						
	Dutch	uit-halen	2.3	23	to	take out.						
	,,	uit-geven	,,	"	to	give out.						
(c)	German	auf-stehen	is	English	to	stand up.						
	2.7	nieder-sitzen	,,	,,,	to	sit down.						
and many similar examples.												

It is true that in the examples under (b) and (c) the prefixes in German and Dutch are separable, and can be put behind the verb in certain flectional forms, but this really does not affect the question, and it certainly cannot be done with the examples

<sup>\*</sup>I say nearly because we still find this prefix in the English words bedaub, besmear, bespeak, beware, etc. As the Dutch and German prefix be is rendered by various prepositions, so the prefix be in these English words has really different meanings.

under (a). The fact that in English the prepositional affix is written separately from the root-word, does not affect the question either, for this is a mere spelling and not a structural question. In speaking there is nothing to show that talk-over is structurally different from be-sprechen, except the fact that the one word has a prefix and the other an affix. In fact, in some words, such as the noun lookout, which is the Dutch witkijk, the affix in English is actually written as one with the root, and there are several more expressions of a similar kind.

Everyone acquainted with the rudiments of Teutonic philology knows that the *prefix* construction is the older, and is found in the immediate parent of German, Dutch and English,

namely in Gothic, which is very rich in prefixes.

Of the Ugro-Altaic languages, outside of India, the oldest representative we are acquainted with, is undoubtedly Sumerian.

Now in Sumerian we have certainly prefixes, and probably, too, a system of determinatives or classifiers, which were

taken over to a considerable extent by Assyrians.

As regards the prefixes, we have first the series a, e, i, u. Prince, in his Sumerian Dictionary, vol. I., p. xvii., says that these prefixes have an "abstract signification," a term which is somewhat difficult to understand. I am inclined to believe that in reality these prefixes were the demonstrative article a=this, used as the article the or a. We find the same phenomenon in Lhota Naga, where every word, if not otherwise defined, takes a prefix o. In Annamese we also find an article, and the fact that in Bantu we have this same prefix a, e, i, u, with evidently the force of the article, makes me think that the Sumerian prefix had the same effect.

ki as prefix in Sumerian denotes place;
lu denotes the agent
sa denoted, as Prince maintains, abstract relationship.
nam (=face) is an abstract element, usually denoting a state or condition.

Of the determinatives in Sumerian we really know very little, except their Assyrian meanings. Before male proper names a sign was put, which is read as dis or gis in Sumerian; before the names of tribes and professions, a sign which reads amelu=man in Assyrian, and which in Sumerian would read in full mu-lu, but as determinative probably read short, as mul or mu. Before trees and wooden objects a determinative was placed which in Sumerian was generally read as is, but sometimes as mu; its Babylonian form was isi.

In discussing the Bantu prefixes and their origin, I shall have to refer often to these Sumerian prefixes and determinatives, which are undoubtedly closely connected with the old Bantu prefixes. In doing so I shall follow, for convenience

sake, the generally accepted system of Bleek, as explained in his Zulu-prefixes, on page 161 of his "Comparative Grammar of South African languages." These are as follows: (without the article)!—

Singular.						Plural.			
I.	mu.					2.	ba.		
	mu.						mi.		
	li.						ama.		
7.	isi.						izi.		
9.	in.						izin.		
II.	lu.					12.	izi;	izin.	
*		•						-	
14.	bu.							-	
15.	ku.							-	

There is only this difference between my arrangement and that of Bleek, that the latter considers the a of the 6th prefix and the i of the 8th, 9th, 10th and 12th prefixes as the article. I shall explain, somewhat later, why I differ from him in this view.

## I. The 1st prefix mu.

It is generally considered by all Bantu scholars that this is the special prefix used to denote persons, and there can be no doubt that this is correct. It is undoubtedly the Sumerian determinative which was rendered in Assyrian as amelu. Mu is a very old name for man, or human being, and appears as ma, me, mi, mo, and mu in a large variety of languages. †

The root form of this word is found in the pure Bantu form mu-tu, met with in Aduma, a language which displays some remarkably pure forms; the form is also found in Kinika. Mutu or any of its other forms is always used in Bantu to denote a man, i.e. a male, though in the plural it also includes women, and has then the general sense of people, a development which is evidently of late date. The root ma as meaning "human being" is already found in Sakai, and in Semang (with a prefix ha) as ha-me, and (with an affix) as me-nik.

In the Indian languages the word does not appear in its pure Bantu form, that in Assyrian we have mutu in the sense of "husband," and in Tibetan we find a related form mthu in the meaning of "virile power." There can, however, be no doubt of the origin of the word. In Semang tau (tu in some

<sup>\*</sup>The 13th prefix of Bleek is the diminutive ka, which is really an infix, and which I cannot consider here.

<sup>†</sup>See for particulars of this B. H. Hodgson's "Miscellaneous essays relating to Indian subjects" (Trübner's Oriental Essays), Vol. II., pp. 59-61;

 $<sup>\</sup>ddagger$ In one Indian language Mru, man is mru, and this agrees with the Shuna  $mrum = \max$ , and the Kikuya murumo. The Indian Mru probably stands for an original mtu, as the change from t to r is by no means uncommon in either the Indian languages or the Bantu dialects.

dialects) means "male," and with the prefix mu = human being, mutu would thus mean a "male human being," which is

exactly its real meaning in Bantu.

In several Bantu dialects the word has, however, undergone remarkable changes. In Zulu it is *u-mu-ntu*, as usually written. This spelling is, however, really wrong, and should be u-mun-tu. The u is the article, mun is the nunated form of mu, that is, a form with an infixed n, which is a very common phenomenon in Bantu; tu has remained unchanged. In Kafir the word is umntu, with elision of the vowel. In the Herero we have o-mun-du, perhaps formed under Sumerian influence, where du is "son" or "male," as well as tur, which latter is simply a strengthened form of tu. Secwana mo-thu, and Serotse monu are deviations, the latter being perhaps connected with the very common non-Aryan Indian form mana. In Mang'anja we find the form mu-ntu, as Scott writes it. Scott wants to make out that this word consists of the prefix mu and ntu =matter, thing, and that the word would thus really mean the "man-thing." I am afraid this view is indefensible. plural of the Mang'anja word is Antu (for Bantu or Wantu) and this would not agree with Scott's idea, but shows that Mang'anja evidently has worn-down forms, and as such I can only consider the Mang'anja form the same as Zulu u-mun-tu, with nunation, but elision of the article.\*

Upon the principle of this rootform *mu-tu* is probably based the first prefix, which is used for personal designations. In many dialects its combination with the article *u* (or its variations), namely, *umu*, is shortened into *um*, especially in Zulu.

II. The second prefix of Bleek is the prefix ba, which is used

to form the plural of the words of the first class.

There has been a good deal of unnecessary speculation about the origin of this and the other plural prefixes in Bantu, due to the fact that the philological position of the Bantu languages was not understood, and that a special system of philology was thus built up by the first Bantu scholars, such as for instances the Pronominal System of Kolbe in his "Language study based upon Bantu" (London, 1888), a work upon which evidently a good deal of time and great ingenuity has been spent, but which is really useless.

In all the old *Mon-Khmer* languages the plurals were formed in two manners: (a) by repetition of the word, a form still found in Sumerian, and not infrequently met with even in Bantu; (b) by prefixing to the singular some word or syllable

<sup>\*</sup>I admit that there is some difficulty about the Mang'anja form, in view of Manganja chi-ntu = a thing, i.e. any thing without life. There certainly is an old Bantu word ntu = "anything that has a shape, or is perceptible by the eye," and a very clear Turanian origin can be found for this word. But the composition of chi-ntu is not yet quite clear to me, and I am not prepared at present to agree with Scott that mu-ntu expresses "a living thing" and chi-ntu" a dead thing."

implying multiplicity. Thus in Annamese the idea men can still be expressed in these two forms: ngu'o'i ngu'o'i=men (by repetition of the singular ngu'o'i) or by nhung ngu'o'i, really meaning all men. In Semang and Sakai the same systems are followed. In several of the Indian languages of this group, we find the same, with this difference, that here has already taken place the change from prefixes to affixes. Thus in Lhota Naga the nouns of multitude (oten, ovo, elam, etc.) are put behind the nouns, which they qualify. In Ao Naga

"prungla" is used in the same manner to form plurals.

Now, in Annamese we find the prefix bo used to express a totality, i.e. a composite body of homogeneous parts, e.g. a crowd of men. In Japanese this word in the form of ban, meaning at present "ten thousand," but formerly "any large ' is still used as a plural prefix to many words, especially such as have been introduced from the Chinese language. Thus nin (originally Chinese) means man, ban-nin = people, the men. Mots is thing, bam-mots = things.\* This plural prefix ba or ban is clearly found in the language of Malacca, where we have in Semang ba-lo=many, in Sakai bi-ga = many, and e-bah = all; in Jakun we find ban-yak = many.

The root of this plural prefix is evidently the old verb ba =to divide, found in Sumerian as well as in Bantu (Zulu aba, Luganda ga-ba). The most ancient form of the verb was ka (compare the above cited Mon-Khmer kat=to cut), and it still has that old form in Semang, and in several Bantu languages (Kongo kaya, Bobangi kakola, Zulu (si)-ka=to cut, etc.), but as already shown, there was always a tendency in several Ugro-Altaic languages to change k into b or  $\phi$ .

This ba or ban appears in a number of Bantu words, all ex-

pressing multitude. A few may be quoted here:

Secwana bantsi = many. banwe = some. Bobangi bala = to count. Zulu isibalo = a number. balela = to numerate. Luganda ba-la = to produce. Dualla ben-ga = to increase. a-ba = to divide.

Now, it is this ba, this usual sound expressing "division" or "plurality" which underlies the Bantu prefix of the plural ba. For instance, the singular of the ancient word for man was mutu, and the plural "men," was formed by the prefix ba, so

<sup>\*</sup>The fact that the n of the original ban changes in the latter case to m (by assimilation) is strong evidence in favour of the supposition that the n of ban is merely a case of nunation, and that the original word was really ba, which agrees with Annamese bo and Sumerian ba.

†The p form is still found in Finnish paljon = many, which is exactly the form of Semang balo, with a slight phonological change.

that we first had ba-mu-tu. But the m had after the labial b a natural tendency to change to n, especially in quick pronunciation, or to express the process more clearly, the second vowel u probably fell out first (a very common thing, e.g. in the Indian languages) and we had thus bamtu. But m will, before t, always assimilate to the hard n, and thus we get Bantu or, with the article, a-bantu.

When once mu had become the singular prefix to certain words upon the mu-tu idea, it was but natural that, upon the same analogy the ba prefix of ba-ntu should be used to express the plural form of this class of words.\*

What strengthens my explanation, as given above, is the fact that in Assyrian, which, as we know, took over several expressions from Sumerian, we find the word banutu in the expression mar-banuti (plural, or perhaps genitive), which is generally translated as "the sons of the free," or the "sons of the noblemen," but which, considering its ideograph Tur-Kak, I should feel inclined to consider as meaning the "men of the people," i.e. the lower free classes, in opposition to the official and priestly classes, a designation found exactly in the same manner in English history, and in fact in the history of all European States during the early middle ages, and which even in Rome we find in homo liber as opposed to the liberti and the servi. In this expression I certainly consider the ba a plural prefix, and I may in support thereof point to the Assyrian ba-chulati = soldiers. If this surmise is correct we have the remarkable fact that Bleek in giving the name of Bantu to what had been before called "the Kafir races of Africa," has unconsciously revived one of the actual old names of the race. If not, then such a coincidence of nomenclature is "beyond the ken of science."

III. and IV. The consideration of Bleek's third and fourth prefixes, viz., singular ma, plural mi cannot conveniently be treated here, but must stand over until we have treated the other prefixes.

V., VI. and XI. I shall now first discuss Bleek's fifth prefix li, as found in Zulu, and in order not to have unnecessary repetition, I shall include in this discussion the eleventh prefix, which in Zulu is lu.

<sup>\*</sup>This naturally implies that the present system of prefixes or classifiers was developed in Bantu itself, after it parted from the parent languages. This I certainly would not deny, but my contention is that the principle underlying these prefixes or classifiers, and the original forms of these classifiers must be deduced from the more ancient languages. The mistake, thus far made, has been to consider the principle as well as the form as of pure Bantu origin.

<sup>†</sup>The expression is taken from the *Behistun* insoription of King Darius, and at such a late period there had taken place no doubt considerable changes in the original meanings of expressions, and in Darius' time *mar-banuti* may have been "the sons of the noblemen," or "patricians."

I strongly doubt whether, originally, this li and lu were really prefixes. In several Bantu languages they do not exist at all. According to Bleek they are in Kikambo i(y) or u, which is equivalent to saying that they do not exist, for the i or u here is the mere old Bantu article. In Shambala the fifth prefix has disappeared altogether, for if Bleek and Seidel maintain that the fifth prefix is Shambala in n or m, they are completely wrong, for the n and m here simply represent nasalisation, and this is clear from the very fact that this class has in Shambala no actual plural, but the plural is the same as the singular.\* In Herero the fifth prefix is lost, for the e for that class is simply the article o in a weakened form. and Brinker has correctly noticed this in his "Lehrbuch der Oshikuanjama " (Berlin, 1891, page 88, II part), though he is wrong in supposing that the old form was eli. But Herero has for the eleventh prefix ru (for lu), and Oshindonga and Oshikuanjama have lu, and the same is the case in Nano and Kongo; Mpongwe has no prefix lu. Dualla has for the fifth prefix a very unusual and probably old Turanian syllable di, di or d, which cannot be treated here, while Isubu has the same. It may thus fairly be concluded, that as this lu is not a general Bantu prefix, like most of the other prefixes, it has a foreign origin, and that I indeed believe to be the case.

There does, however, exist in some Ugro-Altaic languages an affix l, which may be the remains of an original fuller form, represented in Turki as lik. In Mongolian this affix l has, for all practical purposes, the force of an article. Thus nom-la=to learn, while nom-lal is the learning; mede is "to know," and medel is "the knowing" or "knowledge," and it would thus seem that this l forms nouns from verbal roots, and in lakutish the l does the same.

In Arabic and in several of the so-called Hamitic languages in the North-East of Africa, which have taken over several elements of the old South Arabian languages (Himyaritic, Minaean, and Sabaean) we find an article composed of a vowel and an affixed and sometimes prefixed *l*. In Classical Arabic we have *el*; in Masai we have *ol* (masculine plural, *il*), and in Bari we find lo (probably due to metathesis).†

There can be little doubt, but at a very early period the Bantu invaders of Africa came into contact with these Hamitic races, which inhabited in those times not only Abyssinia and the present Somali and Galla-land, but also the regions of the Nile, north of Lake Albert Nyanza, and who may have penetrated even as far as the present British East Africa. At a later stage the Bantu certainly came in close touch with the

<sup>\*</sup>This is accounted for partly by the fact that Shambala is one of those Bantu languages which has lost the ordinary vowel-article.

<sup>†</sup>I have not been able, thus far, to trace the origin of these forms.

Masai, which have always been a warlike race. If we compare, e.g., the weapons of the Zulu tribes as well as some of their customs, with those of the Masai, one must come to the conclusion, that not only were some of the Bantu tribes in very close touch with this race, but that they may even have been

subjected by it.\*

The Ugro-Altaic Bantu had its definite article, which was originally a, but which, in accordance with the ancient vocalic harmony (of which we still find part preserved in Bobangi); could become e, i, o or u. When the Bantu came into close contact with the Nilotic, Hamitic and Masai tribes their language was, to some extent, affected, and this would be especially the case with such Bantu tribes as were, for a longer or shorter time, subjected by those races. So it happened that in some of the Bantu languages the original article underwent a change, and added to its vowel the lo or lu of the Hamitic languages, and thus we have the ilu and ulu of Zulu-Kafir, and the oru (r=1) and olu of Herero, Oshindonga and Oshikuanjama. these latter languages retained the fifth prefix as its original article, as did Nana and Kongo. The Mpongwe, a Bantu tribe, which evidently migrated to the west at a very early period, never came sufficiently under Hamitic influence to suffer any change in its article, and hence it kept its pure i and o.

It is remarkable that, though in Luganda we have the fifth prefix as e, this e is a so-called explosive one, which tends to show that a letter, probably l has fallen out. So e'bere (as written in Luganda) may stand for an older el-bere, and this is the more likely because the pronominal concord of this class is li. In Bobangi, again, li is only the pronominal concord in the plural, while e is the concord in the singular.

There are several linguistic phenomena in connection with these prefixes, which tend to show the correctness of this view. So we have in Bantu a root zwe or zwi, which originally meant "voice," and afterwards "country," a root, which is of undeniable Ugro-Altaic origin. In Zulu zwi, meaning "voice," has the prefix i, while zwe, denoting "country," has the prefix ili. This certainly proves that the prefix ili cannot be a classifier, as has been maintained by several authors.

Another reason in favour of my theory is, that the plural of the fifth prefix is generally ama, that is, that it takes one of the general plural forms, and this is the same with the eleventh prefix, which usually has as plural the general plural form izin, zim or izi, which is also the plural of the ninth class.

<sup>\*</sup>The Masai. I venture to suggest, are probably the descendants of those Asmach mentioned in Herodotus II., 30, as being Egyptian soldiers who deserted and emigrated to Ethiopia. Herodotus places this emigration in the time of King Psammetichus, but it probably took place much earlier. In ancient Egyptian Masu actually means a "soldier," and in the Masai language there are several words of undeniable Egyptian origin, e.g. keper = above. dito = girl and others.

VII. and VIII. I shall now first discuss the seventh prefix of Bleek, *isi*, which forms its plural in the eighth prefix *izi*.

Bleek considers the *i* here as the article, but I think he is wrong here. We have here, as I shall show, an absolutely pure classifier, and the *i* of the article is probably contracted

with the classifier isi, hence we have really isi.

There can scarcely be any doubt but that this is a very old Ugro-Altaic prefix and classifier. In Sumerian we have the prefix is (ish) for all objects connected with trees or plants, or for anything made of wood or fibre; in general we may call, it the prefix of the vegetable world. Issu in Babylonian means plant, tree, and its usual ideograph is a sign, which is usually read is, but seems to be read occasionally mu. Of the origin of this word there can be no doubt, as we find already in Sahai isi in the meaning of "wood," a root again met in the non-Aryan languages of India, as in Dhimal sing, Pahdi si-ma, Nachhereng sa'a, Angami Naga si, Sibsagor Miri ising, etc., all meaning "tree."\*

In Sumerian we find this prefix in a large number of words, directly or indirectly connected with the vegetable kingdom,

such as:

is-gusur = a beam.

is-na = a bed (made of wood).

is-su-dis = a doorbolt (made of wood).

is-pan = a bow.

is-ma-nu = a cage.is-gu-za = a chair.

is-mar = a chariot.

is-ter = a forest, a tree.

is-sa-tur = a net (made of fibre).

is-sar = an orchard.

is-ir = a rope (made of fibre).

and a large number more.

In the Zulu and Kafir language we have, in a similar manner, a large number of words, connected with the vegetable world, which also have the prefix *isi*. Thus:

isi-biba = (a herbal) antidote for snake-bites.

izi-kali (pl.) = weapons (originally of wood, just like the

Sumerian is-ku weapons, with which, indeed, the Zulu word is closely con-

nected).

isi-dabene = wild banana.

isi-tya = basin (of wood). isi-kapa = blade of grass.

isi-kapa = blade of isi-nkwa = bread.

isi-dhliso = poison (vegetable).

<sup>\*</sup>Under such circumstances it is very likely that the Bantu prefix is not derived from Assyrian or Sumerian, but directly from the parent-language.

isi-gabe = young pumkin. isi-konkane = wooden pin. isi-hlenga = raft. isi-rongo = screen (of mats). = shade (of bushes). isi-tuniz

isi-bonda = stake.

= hollow vessel (made from a gourd). isi-guba

isi-nga = a clump of thorn-trees. = handle (of wood). isi-pato isi-lando = a needle (of thorn).\*

and a host of others.

But is in Sumerian also meant earth, and it seems than the two words is were confused at an early period, a confusion which became strongly developed in Bantu. Hence is, even in Sumerian, is occasionally used as a prefix to things connected with the earth, e.g. is-hu=worm (really "earth-vermin"), is-du=to pull down (=to throw on the earth). In Bantu there are a large amount of such examples, e.g. in Zulu:

> isi-bomvu = red earth. isi-buda = red ochre. isi-sindi = sod. isi-gagadu = hard soil. isi-daka = black soil. = foundation. isi-sekelo

isi-za = a plot of ground.

isi-kala = a chasm.

isi-dindi = a clod of earth (really a bye-form of isi-sindi).

= a crag. isi-makade = a fixture. = a mound. isi-duma

isi-hambi = a traveller (literally "one who goes over the ground ").

etc., etc.

It should be remembered that very often new words and ideas are formed from old ones, which latter were originally connected with plants or the ground, though the new ideas have no such affinity. In such cases, the new words would retain the prefix isi, in accordance with the old association of ideas. Thus in Sumerian is-mi means "protection," which has apparently nothing to do with plants or the ground. But the word originally meant "shade" or, literally, "the dark of the tree," and as "shade" was a "protection against the hot rays of the sun," it actually, by analogy, obtained that

<sup>\*</sup>It is, however, more than likely that this is not really an isi prefix, but that the syllable si belongs to the root, and that the word is really i-silando.

meaning.\* So the Sumerian *is-hu* = a bridegroom, has in itself nothing in common with a tree or plant, but originally the word meant "the preparer of the hut," and the hut being made of vegetable material, the word obtained the prefix is.

Not unlikely the same psychological process took place in Bantu, where we find numerous words, beginning with isi, which do not at present have any apparent connection with either the earth or the vegetable kingdom. In many cases in Zulu and Kafir isi stands as an apparent prefix for words taken over from English and Dutch beginning with sh or sch. The sound sh the Bantu cannot pronounce, so he inserts the vowel i between the s and the h, and as the words obtain the article i, there originates an apparent prefix isi. In Bantu grammars and dictionaries these words are really wrongly placed with the prefix isi, though it would seem that the instinct of the language considers them to belong to that class, on account of the mere sound. So we have the Dutch schaap becoming isikapu, schip=isikepe, zens=isizenze (this may be a pure prefix), sikkel=isikeli, and several others might be mentioned.

In some cases the article *i* has *nunation* (adding of *n*). Thus the Zulu *insikane* = "sedge, reed," ought to be *isi-kane* from Assyrian *kanu* = reed or sedge. Zulu *insimu* (which in Kafir has still been further deteriorated into *intsimi*) = field, is really *isi-mu*, meaning "a land covered with vegetation," from *isi* and *ma* = land. The nature of this *nunation* being misunderstood, these words are now considered as belonging to the

ninth prefix class.

The eighth prefix izi, izin, izim, I believe to have been simply caused by the usual re-duplication for plural forms, so that we had the series isisi=issi=izi. I am strengthened in this view by the fact that in the Shuna language, we actually find the form zhinzhi in the meaning of many. Once being adopted as the plural of an important class of nouns, this form gradually grew into what may be called a general plural form, and hence we find it as plural prefix for the tenth and twelfth classes, a clear proof of the fact that the Bantu have long forgotten what was the original meaning of these prefixes.

VI. Now let us consider Bleek's sixth prefix ama which forms the plural of the fifth class, and also, in some cases the plural of some words of the first class, and is especially used in forming the names of tribes or nations, such as, e.g., the Amazulu,

the Amakosa, Amaswazi, etc. †

I consider that the first origin of this plural prefix is in its use as a tribal designation, and that originally, indeed, the

<sup>\*</sup>We, in English, often use the word shade in the meaning of "protection," and even the word umbrella, through the same association of ideas.

<sup>†</sup>This tribal prefix Ama is only used in some Bantu languages; a very large number (e.g., the Bechuana tribes) use Ba as the plural tribal prefix, and this Ba is the same as the second prefix found in Bantu.

prefix meant "people, nation." There is to be traced a whole series of this word or expression ama, in the meaning of "people." In Semang we find for people hame, in Sakai mai and mah, in Lhota Naga we have vam (where the v is inserted); in Mandchu we have amaga = descendants, posterity; in Turkish we have amme = people, and in Sumerian amar = posterity. In Tibetan and Lepcha, in which very few words begin with a vowel, we have the related forms mi = mankind, and mino = nation, words found in several Indian non-Aryan languages. That in ancient West Asia the term was known as nation," is clear from such names as the Amorites (=the people of the mountain), the Amazones (which has nothing to do with Greek Zone, but simply means the "fighting people") and others, and it is probably a prefix in the Assyrian amelu. which must originally have been a plural form, meaning "mankind."\*

For that reason I believe that ama was first used as a prefix to nations, as it still is in Sakai, and that hence we find its oldest form in Amazulu, Ama Xosa, etc., which really mean the "people of Zulu," "the people of Xosa," etc.

When once this ama was used for "people" or "nation," i.e., a collection of men, it was used in "analogous cases, and so we find ama-doda=men (pl. of indoda); ama-pakati=the councillors; ama-hlwenpu (Kafir)=poor men; ama-kwenkwe=boys. Gradually its range stretched, and it was used even for collections of women, e.g. ama-nkazana (Kafir)=women; ama-kosi-kazi (Kafir)=chiefs' wives.† At last, as in the case of izi, the prefix ama became a general prefix for the plural. This must have taken place already at a time when the Bantu had not yet departed from their original Ugro-Altaic stem, for in Japanese we find amata in the meaning of "many," and in Sumerian ama has the meaning of "multitude."

I have already mentioned the fact that one has to be careful to distinguish real prefixes from apparent prefixes in Bantu, and it may be useful to illustrate this in connection with ama. It is generally considered by Bantu scholars, and practically by the Bantu themselves (because they use plural concords in connection with the words) that amanzi, meaning "water," amasi = fermented milk, and amafuta = fat, are real plurals. Yet this is absolutely wrong, and the words which are to-day plurals, were original singulars, and have only come to be considered plurals through false analogy.

<sup>\*</sup>In how far this ama is connected with ama = mother, I cannot here discuss, but I consider it quite likely that the latter is really the rootword.

<sup>†</sup>In the very remarkable Kafir ama-nyange = the people of old, ama has its full force of "people." The etymology of nyange is doubtful; it may mean the same as Mang'ania = the people of the waters; but it might be that nyange actually stands for Naga, and that we have thus here one of the old, names for the Bantu.

I have already shown that in amasi, the ma belongs to the root of the word, which is clearly from the Beluchi mass = sour milk.

As regards water, there are two old roots to represent this element. The one is mi, mu or ma found already in Semang and Sakai, and changed into some Turanian dialects into wa (m=w), which originally meant the "water from heaven," namely rain. The other is ti, changed into most Turanian dialects into si. chi or chu, which meant the "water of rivers," *i.e.* the water on earth. In Sumerian we find the root a = water (which is probably = wa), and another related form mu, and we also find the form a-me, which is generally supposed to be a plural form, but which is possibly a conjunction of two synonomous roots.\* Such conjunctions of synonomous roots are not uncommon in ancient Eastern languages, and Hodgson, op. cit., vol. II., p. 60, gives the Ugrian we-zi=water, as example. Now Finnish has wesi, Hungarian has viz, and Japanese has mu-zi. Bantu man-zi is formed upon exactly the same principle. The n here is the ordinary nunation, as is clear from the Makua mazi, Sesuto metsi (where ts=z), and Jao me-si, while Kinika has mazi. The usual article a was placed in Zulu and Kafir before it, and so we have amanzi. In course of time ama was wrongly taken for the plural prefix, and hence Bantu scholars have been giving some of the most absurd etymologies for the word.

Amajuta is in exactly the same position, and is also a compound of two roots, meaning the same thing. In Sakai mu = fat; in Sakai  $p\ddot{a}-o=\text{fat}$ . In several non-Aryan languages mo-to (where to is an adjectival affix)=fat, but in the same group pi and phum is also fat. In Khyeng ma is fat; in Shan it is phyee. In Finnish we have woi (for moi)=butter; in

Magyar vaj = butter.

It is, therefore, clear that ma-futa (the ending ta is found in some of the Naga languages, e.g. in peleta = fat) is a compound of the two root-words. In Aduma fat = evongo, where we have

only one root, agreeing with Magyar vaj.

XV. The fifteenth prefix of Bleek ku (with the article uku) is a purely Ugro-Altaic prefix. It is well known that in Bantu it forms infinitives and gerunds. That is exactly what the Mongolian affix ku or  $\chi u$  does, for which reason it is known in that language as the "Infinitive form." In Turki and in Jakutish we have several forms. In Manchu ku as affix denotes only "nomina actionis."

It is, in my opinion, most likely that all these endings are really different forms of an original uku = " to make, to do," which is found in Sumerian as aka or ag (variant kak), in

<sup>\*</sup>Prince in his Sumerian lexicon ascribes the reading mu to Semitic influence, but this is clearly wrong. I must confess that Prince's work is really a very disappointing book, and is based upon completely wrong principles.

Baluchi as kan-aga, in Brahui as kar. In Baluchi aga is the ending of all verbs and expresses the action. In Semang kai= to make; and in Sakai ka is actually found as a verbal infinitive prefix, e.g. kabeh=to build (root beh; compare Annamese  $b\ddot{u}a=$ to make); kabuk=to bind (root buk); katut=burn (root tut);  $kat\ddot{u}=$ to pour (root  $t\ddot{u}$ );  $kaj\ddot{o}n=$ to give (root  $jn\ddot{o}$ ), and a large number more, which the reader can easily find in the Vocabulary at the end of Skeat and Blagden's aforequoted work. It may be stated that in Sumerian this prefix does not seem to be found, but that it is still found as an affix in some words. Thut ka-aga= "to eat," is really "to work with the mouth," from ka=mouth, and ka=to work; ka=to set (of the Sun)," is really "to make dark," from ka=to make.

In Kafir *uku* is the regular prefix for the infinitive; in Zulu, and in nearly all Bantu languages it has the same force. In Zulu (like in Manchu) it is often used to form verbal substantives; thus *uku-mela* = opposition, from the verb *mela* = to oppose. In Kafir this is not so common, though we do find

examples, such as uku-fa = death, from fa = to die.

Under such circumstances it is but natural that there is no plural form for this prefix.

XIV. The fourteenth *prefix* of Bleek is bu, with the article ubu.

I must confess that this prefix is connected with greater difficulties than any other, and that principally because throughout the Bantu languages this prefix, as a rule, is used to form so-called "abstract nouns."

In Turki and Mongolian we have an affix bur, which forms nouns for verbal stems, and most-of these nouns seem to be abstract. Thus, in Jakutish we have from the verb tolno= to pay, the noun tolo-bur= payment, while in Mongolian we have from the root tail= to declare, tail-bur= declaration. In the Turki languages bar means "existence" and "to exist." In Japanese ba=a state, condition. In Sumerian we have bar= body, form.\*

The conception of "abstract ideas" must have been a fairly late idea in the development of the human mind. In the Naga languages very few abstract ideas are found, a fact remarked upon by Mrs. E. W. Clark in her "Ao Naga Grammar," p. 5. Sumerian too, possesses few abstracts nouns, and such as there are seem to be preceded by the prefix nam = fate, position. So, nam-lu-gal-la is used in the meaning of "Majesty," but literally it means "the position of a king." There is thus some reason for supposing that in Sumerian these abstract concep-

<sup>\*</sup>This root is most likely connected with Sakai ba-lo= face, and  $b\bar{a}ku=$  to observe. The Semang form is muku, and this root is found in Sumerian and other Altaic languages as a parallel form. In Japanese mukai= to face; in Sumerian ma-char is "front, appearance."

tions arose only after the Sumerian had been conquered by the Semites, whose power of abstraction was far larger. Now it would seem that this prefix bu, as "a sign of abstraction" is not present in some of the older Bantu languages, or that it was borrowed from the later dialects. In Nano, Angola, Kongo, Mpongwe, it does not seem to exist; in Dualla most of the words beginning with bu are "concrete" objects, in which bu really belongs to the stem of the noun (e.g. in boso = face, and bolo = ship), and in such words as bosangi = cleanliness, and bubi = sin, the prefix may have been borrowed with the word from other Bantu tribes.

In Luganda the bu class of nouns comprises a large amount of "concrete," as well as "abstract" nouns, and this is easily accounted for by the fact that Luganda, though originally the headquarters of the first Bantu invaders, became also the headquarters of the second Bantu invaders, and was thus liable to adopt several Sumerian-Babylonian words in its later

vocabulary.

Hence I am inclined to think that the prefix bu is directly connected with the Babylonian banu=to form, and more particularly with the noun derived herefrom, bunu, which means "outward appearance, form," and especially "face." In fact, in the latter meaning the root is found in a very generally used Bantu word, which in Zulu is ubuso, a word which is, through false analogy, supposed to have the prefix bu, but which is really u-buso.\* The prefix would thus express the "form" or "outward appearance" of matters, and would lend itself perfectly to describe what we call "abstract nouns" by giving "a form" in language to things which have no form in nature. So ubu-ntu=mankind would be "the general form of man"; ubu-de=length, would be the "form of being long."

As in all other prefixes, a considerable amount of misunderstanding has arisen about this prefix, due to "false analogy." Thus utywoala = beer, is given in the new Kafir Grammar of the Rev. J. McLaren as a palatised form of an original ubu-ala, while Bleek in his "Comparative Grammar," p. 154, seems to consider that the u stands for an original ubu, as this prefix appears in the Zulu form ubu-tywala. It is probable that the newer form of the word is ubutywala, as would seem from Secwana bo-yaloa. The root of the word is tywala, which is the regular Zulu form of the old Baluchi juara = kafircorn (Sorghum vulgare), under which name this plant is known over the greater part of India. Ubutywala (for original ubu-juara) would thus correctly represent "that which is made from juara," and this is strong evidence in favour of my explanation of the original meaning of the prefix bu. On the

<sup>\*</sup>It need scarcely be said that this buso = face is not derived from Babylonian, but from the ancient Ugro-Altaic language, as is proved by Sakai balo = face, Sirienish ban = face, front; Votian ban = face.

other hand, u-tyani = pasture in Kafir is not, as McLaren thinks, a form of ubu-ani, but stands for an original u-sani (ty = s), from the Sumerian se-in-nu = forage, grain, straw, and has only the ordinary article u as a prefix.

The more I study Bantu, the more do I become convinced that our ideas of the Bantu prefixes require thorough and careful revision, and that from a philological point of view we cannot implicitly trust to the actual conditions under which the Bantu themselves apply these prefixes. It is clear that the Bantu have absolutely forgotten the origin and effect of these prefixes, and, being led astray by false analogy and popular etymology, have made "a fair mess" of their own language, even more so than the Englishman does, when he considers such words as alms and riches as true plurals.

I may, e.g., quote here a very pretty example with reference to the supposed prefix si or se denoting languages in Bantu. Mosuto is one man of the Sutu tribe; Ba-suto is the plural, and Se-suto is the language of that tribe. Mo-shuana is one man of the Shuana (now often written cwana) tribe; Be-shuana is the plural; Se-shuana is the language. So Grout has I-si-zulu for the Zulu language. Bantu grammarians represent, therefore, that for the single individual we use the first prefix, for the plural the second, and for the language the seventh prefix. This statement shows, with all due respect, how crude our notions of Bantu philology are as yet.

The se or si used in front of the tribal name, to denote the language, is no prefix at all, but is the old Ugro-Altaic word for language, and is found in nearly all existing languages of that group.

In Semang we have chu = to talk, and sua = voice. Sirjenish has si = word, voice, and sua = to speak. Jakutish has sej = voice; Manchu has se-mbi (where mbi is simply a verbal affix) = to speak; Turkish has suz = word; Japanese has ji = word, and se-tsu = talk (noun). Several non-Aryan languages of India have che-wa = to speak, as well as je, su-ang and su-u in the same meaning, which are all from the same root. Finnish has sa-na = word; Magyar has so = sound, voice, speech; Sumerian has zag = speech, and evidently a si form, from which the Assyrian si-ku = speech and si-ku-ru = to speak, were derived.

From the above it is clear that the si or se in Bantu is evidently the word for "language." In certain Bantu groups (Suaheli, Kamba, etc.) we have the prefix ki, and this prefix is strong proof for our theory. For while si or se is derived from the Semang chu and sua, ki is derived from the Sakai kui = language, speech, which root is also found in Japanese kuchi = to demand, and kotoba = language, in Mandchu kumun = music;

in Finnish pu-hua = to speak, and probably in Talien (one of the Indian languages) han-hai = to speak, and in Sumerian ku.\*

IX. The ninth prefix *in* is in reality no prefix at all, but simply the article in its *i* form with nasalisation or better *nunation*, and that same nunation also appears in the plural or tenth prefix *izin*, which is the eighth prefix.

III. and IV. Lastly, there remain the third and fourth pre-

fixes to be discussed, viz., mu and mi.

It seems to me that the words which compose the third class are a very heterogeneous mixture. In many of the words of this class, the mu is exactly the same as the mu of the first class. Umu-zi = village, is nothing else but the article u, the prefix mu = man, and the root zi = dwelling, found in Sakai si-ar and si-au = hut, house, dwelling, in some Indian dialects and in several Ugro-Altaic languages, the real original root being sa = spot, place. Umuti = tree (after which word this class has been erroneously termed the "tree" class by some writers) has no prefix mu at all. The mu here forms part of the root of the word, and represents the old Turanian mi (mai, mo, mu) = fire, found in a very large number of non-Aryan languages. Trees were considered as "things to burn," and the two ideas of "fire" and "tree" are intimately connected. In some Indian languages (e.g. Southal, Singpo Kol, Bhumi and others) sengel=fire; while in Dhimal, Chepang, Cchitangya, and many others, sing or sang is "tree," and in Zulu we find the latter root in isinga = a forest. In the same way Somali mi = forest is connected with mi = fire, and Mang'anja moti = fire, with umuti = tree. In Burjetian we find modo = tree, and in Manchu the same word is moo, while Annamese, one of the purest Mon-Khmer languages, has muk = tree. From the latter word it is perfectly clear that the mu in umuti forms a part of the root of the word. In words like umoya there is no prefix mu, and the mo belongs to the stem of the root-word (see above), and the u is the real prefix, or rather article. In Kafir um-lambo (=umulambo)=river, we have the prefix mu=man and the root lam = way, road, and a river was thus defined as "a road for man," a definition actually found not only in Semang, but in several Indian languages, where the ideas "road" and "river" are apparently confused, or very intimately connected.

<sup>\*</sup>This ku appears, inter alia, in eme-ku. This eme-ku with its counterpart eme-sal, which together form the two languages of old Sumir has puzzled all Assyriologists so far, and Prince, in his Sumerian Lexicon, pp. 13-15. has given explanations which are very far-fetched. If Sumerian students had gone somewhat further afield, they would have come to the very evident conclusion that eme-ku is the "spoken, ordinary language," the language of daily life, while eme-sal is the "higher, written language, used in inscriptions and government decrees. Sal is connected with Semang sur-at = to write, Ao-Naga zilu = to write, Angami-Naga thu (th = z) = to write; Turkish zabtet; Japanese suri = to print ("to rub ink on a stone"); Manchu selgiyembi = to publish; Japanese sho suru = to write; Buretian zuranam = to make strokes.

In um as a prefix for rivers in both Kafir and Zulu (Umzimvubu, Umvolosi, etc.) the um has absolutely nothing to do with the prefix mu, but this um is the shortened and metathised word for ancient Semang munun = a "ford," still found in Burjetian umbanap = to wade, and, perhaps, with Sumerian mu-un, which Prince, op. cit., p. 244, explains as "what binds together the land."

I believe that, fairly well the half of class 3 consists of "false analogies," and to do justice to the subject one should carefully examine every word in this class, which cannot be done here.

The plural form, or fourth prefix *imi*, I consider to be a mere changed form of *ama*, in accordance with the "concord of vowels" so common in old Bantu.

In conclusion, I beg to reiterate my opinion that the prefixes in Bantu require very careful examination, and that the rules and principles now generally accepted should be carefully tested. Careless work on the part of authors has certainly complicated matters to a large extent, and independent research is absolutely required.\* The old theories, I am afraid, will have to be gradually discarded, and we must look at Bantu, its prefixes, its inflections, and its very highly developed forms in a different light than we have done thus far.

## SECTION X.

Having given in the former paragraph what I consider the natural and correct view of the Bantu prefixes, and the only one in harmony with the historical development of this language group, the next question to be solved is the *Concord* in Bantu.

Like the prefixes, the Concord has been thus far considered a linguistic phenomenon exclusively Bantu, except in so far as Bleek has attempted to show that this Concord existed, to a certain extent, in the Hottentot language. I am not prepared to discuss this latter matter, which forms a subject in itself. But there can be no doubt, that the Concord, as found in Bantu, is certainly specifically a matter which has developed in that language group itself, though the germs may be found in earlier languages.

As an appendix to the first volume of their ofu-quoted work on the Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, Messrs. Skeat and Blagden have given us a number of Besisi and Blanda songs. I

<sup>\*</sup>As a specimen of the careless way in which Bantu is handled I may quote a book, called "Elements of Luganda Grammar," written by a missionary in Uganda. There I find on page 48, ckitabo = book, given as a noun of the ki class (sic)! Naturally ckitabo is the Bantuised form of Arabian kitab = book, and the prefix is e and not cki. Such things are bound to make Bantu "confusion worse confounded."

have carefully gone into these, but I must confess that, though I have found a good deal of "repetition of words," I have found nothing like Concord, or even Alliteration, in them. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any songs of the non-Aryan tribes of India, and I am thus unable to say whether the germs of Concord are found there.

Before, however, entering into this question historically, we might first ask another question, viz., "What is Concord?"

My answer to this is: "Concord is Alliteration systemised in such a manner that the alliteration is dependent upon the consonants, or any particular consonant, of the word, which expresses the leading idea in the sentence. Usually that leading idea is contained in the subject of the sentence. Under special circumstances the Concord can depend upon the vowel of the leading word in the sentence."

I have just now called Concord a linguistic phenomenon, but in reality this is a misnomer, for Concord has really nothing to do with speech. Speech is connected primarily with the tongue, the teeth, the throat, the palate, and the various oral organs; Alliteration and Concord are solely connected with the ear, and hence it should be classed as a musical phenomenon. Alliteration originated in Poetry, when Poetry was pure and simple song. There is no doubt that originally such songs were connected with religious rites.

The musical faculty in the Bantu is splendidly developed and, as a rule, they have a remarkably good ear. That is, to a certain extent, one of the reasons why the Bantu have de-

veloped the Concord to such a remarkable degree.

In his "Kilima-Njara Expedition" (London, 1886), p. 460, Sir H. H. Johnston, then, as it were, at the commencement of his brilliant career, has attempted to show that there exists a kind of Concord in Galla, and even in Arabic. But it is a question open to doubt whether this Concord is the same as that of the Bantu.

Placed as I am, I have not been able to obtain access to any important ancient Ugro-Altaic poetry, or even to Sumerian poetry. But the "Great Epic of Gilgamesh," with its magnificent Legend of the Deluge, was undoubtedly originally a Sumerian production, of which we only possess to-day the Babylonian adaptation. But even in that adaptation we find clear traces of alliteration, showing that the Semitic translator tried to introduce into Semitic a non-Semitic principle. In the following passages, taken from the "Legend of the Deluge," as found in Rosenberg's "Assyrische Sprachlehre (Hartleben)," Vienna, p. 60 and ff., some examples of this attempt are given: Line 13.

Alu su-u labürma ilaani kirbusu.

(r and l being always interchangeable, would naturally fall under the same principle of alliteration.)

Line 27.

Sulima zeeer naapsaati kalama ana libbi elüppi.

Line 83.

Miimma isuu esiensi huraasu.

Line 85.

Usteli ana liibbi elüppi kala kümtüa u salatüa.

Line 147.

Usesima suummatu umaassür.

Line 163.

Tlaani ullanuumma Beelit ilaani ina kasadisu.

I have just picked out a few of the most prominent examples, but many more might be quoted from the same poem, and it seems evident that the Assyrian poet attempted to imitate the alliteration of the Sumerian original, as far as the Semitic language allowed him to do so.

Not having been able to obtain access to any Sumerian poetry (a fact which has undoubtedly handicapped me considerably) I had recourse to what is perhaps the nearest to it, namely, the magnificent poetry of the Finns, as found in the "Kalevala." The whole of this great epic I could not obtain, but luckily I found many extracts from it in A. Castren's "Vorlesungen uber die Finnische Mythologie" (translated by A. Schiefner), a copy of which is possessed by the S.A. Library in Cape Town. What I saw there was more than sufficient for my purpose. For there I found not only pure Alliteration, but actually the "first dawnings" of the Bantu Concord. I shall only quote a few verses, in the original, without giving Schiefner's German translations, because the only object is to show how perfectly this alliteration exists in Finnish poetry:

- I. Anna ucko uuhiansi Anna oinahat omansi Ukko kullainen kuningas Tuuvos ilman tuusimata Varomata vaaputtele.
- II. Pikkuisessa pirttisessä Kamarissa kaituisessa Kiven kirjavan kylessa Paaen paksun kainalossa.
- III. Vaski oli hattu hartioilla Vaski saappahat jalassa Vaski kirjat kintahissa Vaski-vyövyt vyölle vyötty Vaski kirves vyön takana.

- IV. Kaistat kalaisen karjan Tämän nuotan nostimille, Sata-lauan laskimille Kalaisista kaartehista, Lohisista loukeroista, Suurilta selän navoilta, Synkiltä syväntehiltä, Täivän paistamattomilta, Hiekan hieromattomilta.
  - V. Sorea on suonten vaimo Suanetar sorea vaimo Soma suonten kehreäjä Sorealla kehrinpuulla Vaskisella vätrtinällä Rautaisella rattahalla Tule tänne tarvitaissa Käy tänne kutsuttaessa Suoni sykkyrä sylissä Kalvo kääri kainalossa Suonia sitelemähän Päitä suonten solmimahan Haavoissa halennehissa Rei'issä revennehissä!

Surely we have here alliteration with a vengeance! But have we here the Bantu concord?

In Bantu the Concord consists of alliteration dependent upon the prefix of the subject of the sentence, or better, of the word expressing the leading idea of the sentence. But leaving the consideration of the prefix question aside for the moment, the Bantu concord is dependent practically upon the first letter of the leading word (excluding the article). Thus in the Zulu sentence given by Bleek, page 97:

"Abantu betu abachle baya-bonakala sibatanda," the "concord" is dependent upon the first letter of the word bantu, which is the subject of the principal sentence, and conveys the leading idea of the sentence.

In the Finnish examples given above we find in most cases an alliteration of the initial consonant (and even in the first two lines of Example I. of the vowels). In nearly all cases, the alliteration is dependent upon the leading word in the sentence. So in Example II. all the first words are the nouns with which the verb "to sit," in the first two lines (root form istua) agrees, while in the two last lines the adjectives "gaudy" and "thick" also agree with the nouns. This is very clear in Example III., where the leading word is vaski = copper, and in the first line the concord is with the letter i of the word, in the second with

the s, in the third with the k, in the fourth with the initial v, and in the last with both v and k, the initial letters of the two syllables of Vas-ki, a very pretty piece of poetical alliteration.

In the IV. Example the concord agrees all through with the leading idea in each line, though the word expressing it does not in every case stand at the beginning of the line, but sometimes, like *karjan* ("flock" or here "shoal of fishes"), stands at the back.

We have thus here in Finnish something which comes very near the Concord in Bantu, though as appears from the examples given, in Finnish that principle is not always carried through with the unswerving consistency found in Zulu, Kafir, and most of the other Bantu languages.

It is, therefore, very probable that the "Concord" as it exists to-day in Bantu was developed and brought to its present musical perfection within the Bantu itself, after the tribes had settled in Africa. The facts that the Bantu had lost the art of writing, that all great events were commemorated in songs, and that in honour of their chief they sung "his great names," and his prowess, as the Zulu still did in the times of Tjaka and Dingaan, and several Bantu tribes in Central Africa are now accustomed to do, would greatly tend to develop the Concord, which, as we have seen above, existed already in Ugro-Altaic. That very fact of not possessing the art of writing, together with the inborn love for musical sounds which the Bantu have, was undoubtedly the cause that the *Concord* was applied to the ordinary prose language of daily life, and thus gradually became a great *linguistic* factor.

Under the present circumstances, and within the necessarily narrow limits of this sketch of the Bantu origin, I cannot enter more deeply upon this question of Concord, a matter which really requires a volume in itself. For at present, the Concord constitutes, as it were, the grammatical centre around which the whole of the Bantu turns, and a consideration thereof would lead us too far away out of my course. What has been said above tends, however, to strengthen the bond which, I maintain, exists between Bantu and Ugro-Altaic.

In conclusion, a few words regarding this relation may not be out of place.

To many it might seem absurd to connect the semi-, or sometimes wholly, savage Bantu with the highly-developed Finn, or the energetic and pushing Japanese, but it should be remembered that in the Finn, the Sirjenian, the Votian and all the other members of the Finnish group, we have probably a strong Aryan element; that in the Manchu and the Japanese we have a specifically-developed Jakun element, which we generally denominate Mongolian, but the history of which is still shrouded in mystery; that, again, in the blood of the

"unspeakable Turk," and his relations, we have a strong

Semitic strain, and perhaps some Aryan drops.

The Bantu miss that foreign element. In them there is probably no other blood than that of the Sakai and the Semang. of the old Nagas or Lu, who ages ago populated India, but who, after the Aryan conquest, seem to have made their headquarters the present Beluchistan, and perhaps part of Afghanistan. But before these Nagas could enter upon a new development, the Bantu, who in any case seem to have belonged to a low Naga division, or may have even been outcasts, left the country and started life anew in Africa. While in the original home their brethren rose, step by step, in civilisation, and sent off branch after branch northwards to populate nearly the whole of Asia north of the Himalaya, the Bantu in Africa entered upon a career which could only have a most baneful effect upon their development. In a strange country, where Nature was fitful, where one year the earth produced plenty, and the next even a drop of water might be a boon; having to struggle for an existence not only with Nature, but also with human enemies, who surrounded them on all sides; split up in course of time in various divisions, whose sole object in life was to prey upon each other, as to-day is still done by his relatives in Beluchistan; possessors of fertile lands to-day, and wanderers in the desert to-morrow—is it a wonder that, under such circumstances, the Bantu sank lower and lower in the scale of civilisation? Low they did sink; in some cases they even reached cannibalism. Yet they never sank to the depths that the Hottentot sank in the Bushman type; they never became isolated nomads, but always kept their tribal system in full force. And it is this tribal system, with all its remarkable institutions, social as well as political, which saved the Bantu from utter deterioration. Immense charms as this aspect of the Bantu has, I cannot discuss it here, but must leave that for a more fitting opportunity.

In the above essay, an attempt has been made, clumsily perhaps, to find a key which will open to us the secret of Bantu philology not only, but the hidden mysteries of Bantu character and Bantu institutions. As such this essay is, what I have called it, a *preliminary* work. The *key* I have tried to find must be tested; we must see whether it will fit upon the locks of the great safe which holds what we wish to see and

observe for ourselves.

The few years of the rest of my life I intend to devote to this task or, at all events, to some small part of it. Whether I shall be enabled to carry out this intention depends, to a large extent, upon others. For such work one must have not only leisure, but one must be enabled to devote his whole energy to it, and hence it is necessary that some provision should be made for the sordid cares of mere animal existence.

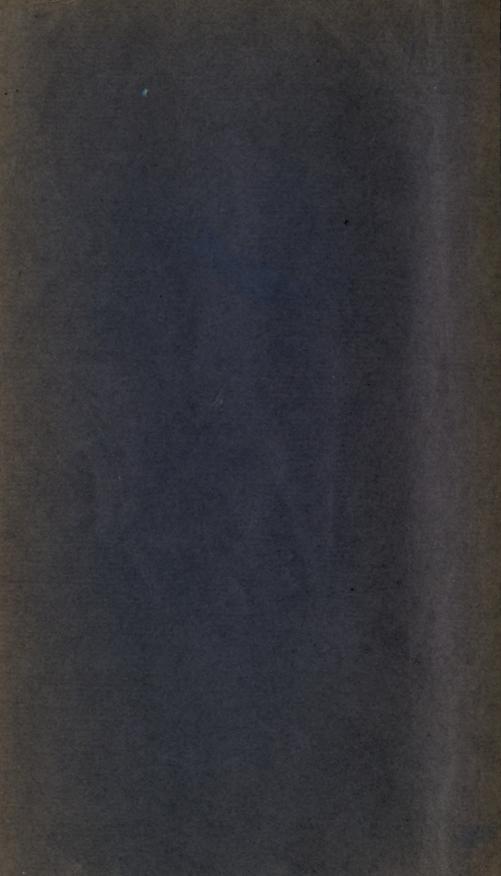
But the work cannot be done by *one* man, even if he had half a century at his disposal. We want workers, earnest, capable, and enthusiastic workers in this field; we want a number of them.

If this essay should be fortunate enough to induce some of our smart young South Africans, who now grace the roll of our University calendars, to join the rank of workers in the study of Bantu philology, Bantu institutions, and the kindred subjects, the writer will consider himself amply rewarded for the innumerable hours of close and hard study he has devoted to this little work. Then only will he feel the truth of the motto of a noble English family—

PER ASPERA AD ASTRA.







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